DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 030 517 RC 003 499

By-Brussell, Charles B.

Disadvantaged Mexican American Children and Early Educational Experience.

Southwest Educational Development Corp., Austin, Tex.

Spons Agency-Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.

Pub Date 68

Note-104p.

EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$5.30

Descriptors-Bibliographies, Cognitive Ability, Demography, Disadvantaged Youth, *Early Childhood Education, Early Experience, Intelligence Differences, *Literature Reviews, Mexican American History, *Mexican Americans, *Program Descriptions, Social Adjustment, *Social Differences, Social Disadvantagement, Spanish Speaking

Identifiers-Southwest, *Texas

A synthesis of literature on the Mexican Americans of Texas and the Southwest provides an overview of the general research findings. The volume is intended as a resource for teachers and others who work with Mexican American children. Part 1 is a concise history of the population. Part II presents a synthesis of current literature on the social characteristics of the Mexican American. Part III identifies problems in the education of Spanish-speaking children. Part IV presents a rationale for early childhood education programs as a partial solution to the problems of educating a disadvantaged population. Part V gives brief descriptions of a number of current projects dealing with the educationally disadvantaged sector of the Mexican American population. Part VI is a summary of the major ideas presented in each section. The appendices contain an extensive bibliography for each of the first 5 sections. (DK)

ED030517

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

Disadvantaged Mexican American Children and Early Educational Experience

By
Charles B. Brussell
Research Associate

Editors:
J. A. Forester, *Director*
and E. E. Arnaud,
Staff Development Coordinator

Pupil Appraisal Center
North East Independent School District
San Antonio, Texas

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY William Kinniell

TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER."

Copyright 1968
Southwest Educational Development Corporation
Suite 550 Commodore Perry Hotel
Austin, Texas

RC 003499

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword iv

Preface v

Introduction 1

Part One: Spanish-Speaking Americans, Their History and Demography 5

Part Two: Social Characteristics and Problems of the Atomistic Society 25

Part Three: Cognitive and Intellectual Functioning of Spanish-Speaking Children 45

Part Four: Disadvantaged Mexican American Children and Early Educational Experience .61

Part Five: Brief Description of a Number of Projects 75

Part Six: Summary 85

Bibliography, Part One 89

Bibliography, Part Two 93

Bibliography, Part Three 97

Bibliography, Part Four 101

Bibliography, Part Five 105

FOREWORD

This publication is a synthesis of the literature on one of the target populations of the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, the Mexican Americans of Texas and the Southwest.

Part I is a concise history of the population intended for interested school personnel. Part II is a synthesis of current literature on the social characteristics of the Mexican American. Perhaps the most important contribution made by this section is to accentuate the need for more study in this area. This interpretation of Mexican culture is, in my opinion, representative of the failure of American social scientists to understand the Mexican American culture. Nowhere is this more evident than in the typical and erroneous interpretation of the *machismo* concept which is again presented as almost synonymous to sexual promiscuity.

Part III highlights problems in the education of Mexican American children. This report again refutes past school personnel rationalizations of their failures in the education of Mexican Americans.

Part IV presents a rationale for early childhood education programs and the reasons for the Laboratory's emphasis on this area of education as a partial solution to the problems of educating a disadvantaged population.

Though this report contributes little new knowledge to the respective disciplines, information presented here can serve as the stepping stone for future breakthroughs in improving educational opportunities for disadvantaged Mexican Americans.

José A. Cárdenas, Director
Program for the Improvement of
Educational Opportunities for
Mexican Americans

PREFACE

The Southwest Educational Development Laboratory is devoted to improving the education of disadvantaged children. This synthesis of studies relating to disadvantaged Mexican American children and, particularly, early educational experiences for them, has important implications for all Laboratory programs. These programs are Language-Bilingual Education, Social Education, Mathematics Education, Parental-School-Community Involvement, and Early Childhood Education.

Through these programs the Laboratory is developing – designing, pilot testing, and refining – curriculum materials and instructional techniques for the education of young children. These materials and techniques are being pilot tested in selected school systems throughout the two-state region of Texas and Louisiana.

The Laboratory recognizes that all efforts to assist disadvantaged children must be based on an understanding of the multiplicity of their problems and recognition of the unique strengths and weaknesses these children bring to the educative process. This bibliography, with the accompanying historical and explanatory text, illuminates the strengths of the Mexican American child and the special problems encountered in designing educational programs for him.

This study is intended as a resource for teachers and others who work with young Mexican American children.

Edwin Hindsman
Executive Director

INTRODUCTION

A primary purpose of this volume is to provide the educator and other individuals interested in the early childhood education of the child of Mexican descent with a bibliography of reading materials. There is a general, overall emphasis on the state of Texas. The text is provided, not with the hope of synthesizing every bibliographic entry, but rather with the hope of providing the reader with an overview of the general findings of the literature. Accordingly, the bibliographic entries are numbered so that they may also serve as references for the text.

This compilation primarily reflects the literature written since 1950. This is not to negate the value of the older literature, but rather to point to the fact that situations change. Problems become more intense, or less intense. Emphases shift. An example of this is the increasing urbanization of the Spanish-surname population. When Carey McWilliams (16, Section One) wrote in 1949, he mentioned that, contrary to popular belief, the Mexican American population of the Southwest was predominantly an urban population. This was confirmed by the 1960 census. Moore and Mittelbach (19, Section One) indicate that in 1950 a total of 66.4 percent of the Spanish-surname population of the Southwest lived in urban areas. In the short space of ten years, this figure jumped to 79.1 percent. It is evident that greater emphasis must be placed on means, methods, and facilities for meeting the needs of an increasingly urbanized minority group in which, at present, almost eight out of every ten members live in an urban area.

Perhaps the least change through the years has been in the area of family life and family interactions, that area which so strongly influences the psychological and social formation of the young child. Yet even here, changes are beginning to emerge. Burma (4, Section One) says:

> *Under the impact of immigration, migration, cultural conflict, urban living and minority group status, many old culture traits normally decline. Those assumed to be of more value to the individual and the group are those preserved the longest, so marriage and family life have been slow to change. Yet in this important area the web of culture is being rather badly broken and no longer exists as a completely integrated system. The dominant role of the father has tended to decline. The wife may remain subordinate, but the sons are more emancipated and not infrequently the elder son supersedes the father as mentor and protector for the younger children because he knows more about the American culture. The older girls, particularly if employed, are in much less subordinate roles when they become wives (p. 86).*

These, and many other changes – especially the thinking of educators concerning the education of children of Mexican descent – indicate the need for a bibliography of more recent literature on the subject.

The concept of changing conditions and situations is not the only concern of the bibliographic materials and text of this volume. It is important to remember that when one applies a term to the Spanish-speaking population, such as Mexican American, Spanish-surname, Spanish-speaking Mexican, Spanish-American, Spanish, Mexicanos, Hispanos, or *Chicanos* that population does not automatically become an undifferentiated mass. There are many variations among this group, biologically, intellectually, and culturally. Heller (9, Section One) quotes Sanchez as saying: "Biologically, they range over all the possible combinations of, first, their heterogeneous Spanish antecedents and, then, the *mestizaje* resulting from the crossing of Spaniards and various indigenous peoples of Mexico ..."

Actually, the American of Mexican descent is not a Spaniard at all, but to a greater or lesser degree a *mestizo*. The population described as *mestizo* resulted from the crossing of the already culturally and biologically heterogeneous population of Spain with the similarly heterogeneous population of Indians in the New World (Miller, 17, Section One). In this population, as among all populations, individuals range along a wide continuum of abilities, and includes cultural variations. Sanchez (25, Section One) has said:

> *The colonial Hispanos were not culturally homogeneous. The Nuevo Mexicanos who settled in the region as early as 1598 were different from their cousins the Californios and the Texanos who arrived much later. The date of migration, geographic isolation, natural resources, and the number and kinds of Indians among whom they settled and other factors resulted in not one Spanish-speaking people but several, each with distinct cultures (pp. 5-6).*

The factor of heterogeneity of this group is recognized by many writers. The point of this discussion may best be summarized by quoting Manuel (14, Section One):

> *It is difficult to give an adequate description of the culture of a group for three reasons: the term encompasses the total life characteristics of a people; cultures change; there are extreme differences between persons who are within the same group. A given kind of central tendency is just that: the average of a series of conditions which vary along a continuous scale, or a condition which is characteristic of a fraction of the group sufficiently large to have significance...Characterizing a group as "Spanish-speaking" expresses only a "usual" condition to which there are many exceptions, and even "Spanish-speaking" varies in degree.*
>
> *....The process of generalization for the purpose of finding averages and trends is not reversible. The status of an individual cannot safely be inferred from the average or trend of the group. The only way to find the real characteristics of any person is to study him individually (pp. 32-33).*

In other words, when speaking of conditions that affect the young child of Mexican descent, or educational methods that may affect his learning process, it is not justifiable to assume that these conditions and these methods will affect all such children in the same manner or direction, or even that these children were the same in the first place. However, generalizations do have their usefulness. Manuel continues:

> *Although one constantly must be aware of individual differences, it is important too to know group trends, the conditions which are frequently found within a group. This is important for two very practical reasons: first, knowing the conditions which are frequently found in the group alerts the investigator to conditions which may be important in individual diagnosis – some of the points are known where difficulties are most likely to be found. General group characteristics merely alert one to conditions which may be found in an individual case. Group membership can never be safely depended upon as a basis for understanding a person. Yet such reliance is a common error (pp. 33-34).*

This bibliography has been broken into several bibliographies relating to specific areas of interest. These general areas are, history and demography, social characteristics, psychological characteristics of children of Mexican descent, educational implications for the early childhood education of young children of Mexican descent, capsule descriptions of current and anticipated educational projects in the early childhood education of these children, and bibliographies of educational materials and additional sources of information. This division of materials, has made possible a chapter-by-chapter notation of larger books that cover several or all of the above areas. Thus, a particular book may appear in two or more sections; however the chapters relative to each particular area of interest are noted for each entry.

Special thanks are extended to the following individuals for their suggestions, their conversations, their courtesy, and their time: Dr. José A. Cárdenas of the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory; Dr. Joseph Frost of the University of Texas; Dr. George I. Sanchez of the University of Texas; Dr. Herschel T. Manuel of the University of Texas; Mrs. Mary Linkhart of the Compensatory Education Division, Texas Education Agency; Dr. Thomas D. Horn of the University of Texas; Dr. Kenneth Kramer and Dr. M. G. Bowden of Trinity University; Rev. Henry J. Casso, Episcopal Vicar for Urban Ministry, Archdiocese of San Antonio; Mr. Nick Garza, principal of J. T. Brackenridge Elementary School, Mrs. Katie Jones, Preschool Program Director, San Antonio Independent School District; Mr. Raymond Arnold, Assistant Superintendent, San Antonio Independent School District; Mrs. Constance N. Swander and Mrs. Shari E. Nedler of the Good Samaritan Center; Mrs. Lucille Rochs of the West San Antonio Heights Kindergarten, Northside Independent School District, San Antonio, Texas; Mr. George Gonzales, formerly of the Inter-American Education Center, San Antonio, Texas; Mr. Keith Blue, Director of Early Childhood Education, Greeley Public Schools, Greeley, Colorado; Mrs. Oralie McAfee of the New Nursery School, Greeley, Colorado; Mr. R. E. Byron, Superintendent, and Mr. John Harrell, Assistant Superintendent, Uvalde Independent School District. Thanks also are due Miss Ruie Arnett and Mrs. Rosie Bejar for their aid in the preparation of this manuscript. Special thanks must also be extended to Dr. E. E. Arnaud and Dr. James A. Forester of the Pupil Appraisal Center, North East Independent School District, San Antonio, Texas, for their editorial assistance.

PART ONE

Spanish-Speaking Americans: Their History and Demography

I. A Brief Historical Sketch

In 1519 Hernando Cortez landed on the Mexican coast near Veracruz with a small band of soldiers. It had been but 27 years since Columbus had discovered the islands of the Caribbean, but Spain had already colonized the isles of Hispaniola and Cuba, and the prospects of further treasures in the lands of the west loomed large. When Cortez and his band of *conquistadores* arrived, a wide variety of Indian tribes inhabited the mainland of Mexico, and spoke many different languages. One tribe, the Aztecs, predominated. By 1325 they had established Tenochtitlan, the present-day Mexico City (Miller, 17). They were a militant group, and had imposed their culture over a large part of the central area of Mexico by the time Cortez arrived. The tribes they had subdued resented their domination, the tribute they imposed, and, especially, their practice of human sacrifice to their gods. Cortez found willing allies among these tribes, and by 1521 the conquest of the Aztec Empire and of Mexico was complete (See Diaz, 5). In 1522 Cortez was named governor and captain-general of New Spain, and was superseded in 1535 by Antonio de Mendoza, first viceroy of New Spain.

In 1536 Cabeza de Vaca arrived in Mexico City and excited Viceroy Mendoza with tales of his remarkable adventures in the equally remarkable lands to the north. Cabeza de Vaca was a survivor of an expedition of 1528 led by Narvaez. The expedition had been shipwrecked somewhere near Galveston Island, and for eight years de Vaca had been roaming the area that is now Texas before making his way back to Mexico City. Mendoza sent an expedition north in 1539 (McWilliams, 16), led by Fray Marcos and Estevan. The expedition journeyed through Sonora, the valley of San Pedro in New Mexico, and arrived at the Zuni villages in Arizona. Here, Estevan was murdered by the Indians, and Fray Marcos returned to Mexico. But the Spanish appetite for exploration and the possible discovery of riches in the north had been whetted. An expedition led by Francisco Coronado was organized in 1540. Coronado set out in search of the seven cities made of gold, a fable that had reached Mexico with the return of the previous explorers. These cities proved to be mud huts, but a rumor originating from Indians near Albuquerque indicated that there was a marvelous place named the Golden Quivera on the Great Plains. Accordingly, Coronado journeyed across the Great Plains of Texas, into Kansas, and finally reached the first Quivera villages, another collection of mud huts. He returned to Mexico.

Between 1528 and 1602 the Spanish explored the borderlands from Galveston to San Diego, Sonora to Santa Fe, and the west coast of Mexico to Monterrey (McWilliams, 16). But the riches of the land and the availability of Indian labor centered Spanish interest in Mexico. The Spanish neglected California from 1542 when the Bay of San Diego was discovered by Cabrillo, to 1769, when Fray Junipero Serra arrived to begin the establishment of a series of coastal missions. Texas was ignored for a century, and 40 years elapsed before the settlement of New Mexico was undertaken. But it was in New Mexico that the first permanent Spanish penetration occurred. The colonization of New Mexico was really a by-product of the discovery of silver at Zacatecas in 1548. A Zacatecas millionaire, Juan de Onate, was commissioned to move north in 1598. With 83 *carretas* (long narrow carts) and 7,000 head of stock, he went first to El Paso and then up the Rio Grande to a point near Santa Fe. Santa Fe was established in 1609, just two years after the English had made their first settlement far to the east in Virginia. It was to be at least 200 years before these two peoples were to encounter each other in the Southwest. The Spanish had established a series of settlements and 25 missions by 1630 (McWilliams, 16) and by 1680 there were some 2,500 settlers in New Mexico (Manuel, 14).

In 1683 the attention of the Spanish government was refocused on the Texas area. In that year, the Frenchman La Salle had sailed the Mississippi River and had returned to France to persuade Louis XIV to establish a colony in the Southwest. In 1685 La Salle docked three of his ships at Matagorda Bay, having missed the mouth of the Mississippi, and built Fort St. Louis on the Lavaca River. The threat of foreign encroachment caused the Spanish viceroy, de Laguna, to send five expeditions by sea and four by land to eradicate the French. The French establishment had failed due to the raids of hostile Indians and starvation in 1687; but the Spanish, fearing the return of the French, established the first settlement of a permanent nature in the area at Nacogdoches in 1690.

Meanwhile, settlement was begun in northern Sonora and Arizona in 1687. To hold the Texas area, however, Spain began to erect a string of mission establishments in the East Texas area on the premise that the Indians, Christianized and acculturated to the Spanish way of life, would provide a bulwark against encroachment. But there was an obvious need for a halfway point between the missions in eastern Texas and the settled areas of northern Mexico, so the viceroy, Valero, ordered the establishment of a mission on the San Antonio River. That mission, established May 1, 1718, was named San Antonio de Valero.

By 1746 the Spanish officials recognized the need for truly permanent settlements in the area. There were several reasons for this: first, to protect the wealthy mining and agricultural interests of northern Mexico from Indian raids; second, to prevent foreign encroachment into the area; third, to exploit the shallow salt beds found in great quantity north of the Rio Grande; fourth, to satisfy the Spanish desire to convert the Indiana (Stambaugh and Stambaugh, 28). In September, 1746 Jose de Escondon was provided with a royal commission for the conquest and settlement of a district stretching as far north as the Medina and San Antonio Rivers. The New province was named Colonia del Nueva Santander. Settlement was encouraged by the crown with the offer of free lands, exemption of taxation of both the land and its produce, a cash sum to defray traveling expenses of parties moving to the new site, and an outlay of money incidental to the first year of occupation. Accordingly, Escandon, made governor of the province, established Camargo, March 5, 1749, and Reynosa, March 10, 1749, both south of the Rio Grande.

North of the Rio Grande, Nuestra Senora de los Dolores was established in the South Texas area, August 22, 1750, and Mier, March 6, 1752. Escandon's report of October, 1755, indicated that since December, 1748, 23 settlements containing 1,481 families or 6,384 persons had been made. In 1750 there were 43 families at Guerrero and Reynosa, and 65 families at Camargo (Rubel, 23). Most of the settlers lived in or near the villas on the south side of the river and did their farming there. The land on the north side of the Rio Grande was used for grazing their stock. The raising of livestock was the most important economic activity, with agriculture coming next. There were two classes of people: landed gentry and peons. The peons worked as servants and herders for the gentry. The landowners had duties toward the peons in return for their services. They were to protect them in time of danger, act as advisors and counselors, judge cases, inflict punishment, and provide living quarters and a small amount of money. In 1767, virtually all the land on both sides of the Rio Grande, ranging from the present line of Zapata County to about eight miles east of the present Reynosa, had been allotted to settlers (Stambaugh and Stambaugh, 28).

In 1775 Juan Bautista de Anza left Tubac, Arizona, on a march across the California desert to San Gabriel. While he was exploring the Bay of San Francisco, across the continent the American colonists were celebrating the signing of the Declaration of Independence. San Jose was established in 1777, Los Angeles in 1781, and a string of missions, not more than a day's march apart – and none more than a day's ride from the sea – was established from San Diego to San Francisco.

But the shape of conflict was being formed. In 1783 the United States extended its boundaries to the Mississippi River. The land west of the river, after a shuffle to Spain in 1762, had been transferred back to France in 1800. Napoleon, badly in need of cash for financing his vainglorious ravishing of Europe, sold the Louisiana territory to the United States in 1803. Thus, American territory became contiguous to the Spanish borderlands now known as the Southwest. At this point in the heyday of Spanish expansion, Spanish holdings consisted only of a firmly rooted colony in New Mexico, an easily held chain of missions on the California coast, and a number of weakly-garrisoned and constantly-endangered settlements in Texas and Arizona. Carey McWilliams (16) says that one could have placed all the inhabitants of the borderlands – including the Indians – in a corner of the present-day county of Los Angeles. At the close of the period of Spanish rule – which was shortly to occur – there were not more than 15,000 Spaniards in the borderlands less than one third of one percent of the population of New Spain.

Into this sparsely-populated area American settlers began to come after 1803. This invasion was not necessarily unjustified. When selling Louisiana to the United States, Napoleon had revived old French claims against Spain and had included them in the sale. President Jefferson certainly believed that the United States had bought everything east of the upper Rio Grande, including Texas and half of New Mexico (Myers, 21). Spain did not agree. Thus, the border between the United States and Mexico remained in dispute until 1819, while American settlers continued something of a small exodus out of Louisiana into Texas. In 1819 the Adams-Onis Treaty established the Sabine River as the boundary between the United States and Spain, and in exchange for Florida, the United States relinquished any claim to Texas. But the Spanish were hoping that American immigrants would serve as a buffer between Spanish settlements and the Indians, and that they would provide an industrious class of farmers such as the Spanish colonization efforts had yet to produce. Accordingly, the treaty permitted peaceful immigration into the province on the conditions that the settlers would become Spanish subjects and Catholics. This seemingly did not cause the average pioneer undue concern.

The system that evolved was to lease grants of land to individuals known as *empresarios,* who were then responsible for bringing in an allotted number of settlers and seeing to it that the land was properly distributed. The first individual to get such an *empresario* grant was Moses Austin, who died in 1821 before he was able to carry through on the plan. Stephen Austin took over for his father, but discovered to his dismay that his land grant was virtually invalid: Mexico had declared and won its independence from Spain. Mexico had, in fact, been in a state of political upheaval since 1810 when the first cry for freedom had been sounded. Undeterred, Austin journeyed to Mexico City, where, just as the Mexican congress was about to approve his land grant, Iturbide (who had been proclaimed emperor) abolished congress. However, on January 4, 1823, Iturbide proclaimed the Imperial Colonization Law which guaranteed liberty, security, and possession of property to all foreigners who professed the Catholic faith. Austin had his grant approved in March, 1823.

That same month, Iturbide, who had been denounced by Santa Anna, found it necessary to abdicate. A new congress ruled all acts of Iturbide invalid, but finally approved Austin's contract on April 11. The community of San Felipe de Austin was then established in 1823.

In 1824, the Mexicans produced a new constitution. This one did not recognize Texas as a national subdivision entitled to its own government. Instead, Texas was combined with the province of Coahuila to make the state of Coahuila-Texas, on the premise that Texas did not have enough population to justify separate statehood. There was also no provision for trial by jury, nor were courts open to public examination (Myers, 21). The Coahuila representatives outnumbered those from Texas 10 to 2. It was, in fact, necessary to travel 500 miles in order to settle a dispute in court, since Texas had no superior court of its own.

In addition, trouble began to brew between the colonists and the Mexican government. Colonel Haden Edwards had been given a grant to settle 800 families, but he created friction over the election of the alcalde of Nacogdoches, and the Mexican government ordered his contract cancelled. His hotheaded brother, Benjamin Edwards, marched into Nacogdoches, tried the alcalde, and proclaimed the Republic of Fredonia in 1826. At the end of January, 1827, the movement collapsed, but in November Mier y Teran was sent at the head of an expedition, the main purpose of which was to survey Texas and make recommendations by which Texas might be protected from Anglo immigration. He recommended among other things increased military strength and suspension of all North American contracts.

When the centralists came to power in Mexico in 1829, the Mexican government began to take Mier seriously. President Bustamante and his group wrote the law of April 6, 1830, stating that no person from a nation bordering on Mexico could settle in a Mexican state contiguous to the country from which he came. This meant no more American immigration into Texas. Increasing the atmosphere of tension, the Mexican government abolished Negro slavery in 1832. This, of course, created a labor problem in Texas.

But the colonists were particularly inflamed that year by the actions of Colonel John Bradburn, an abolitionist in charge of a Mexican garrison at Anahuac. An eventual clash between citizens and the soldiers resulted in the imprisonment of William Travis and Patrick Jack, two respected Anglo leaders. The colonists assembled under arms, and while they were marching to Bradburn with an ultimatum, a detachment of Mexican cavalry blundered into them and was captured. The Americans proposed a simple exchange of prisoners; but Bradburn took the Mexican prisoners without releasing the Texans. The colonists therefore obtained cannon from Brazoria and boarded ship to sail into Anahuac harbor. The garrison of the fort at Velasco, located at the mouth of the Brazos River, would not let the colonists pass, and the colonists reduced the fort. Colonel Jose de las Piedras, senior officer in East Texas and commander of the garrison at Nacogdoches, came to investigate the trouble. He promised to put Bradburn under arrest and to release the captive colonists. He kept his word. Meanwhile, Santa Anna had overthrown the centralist Bustamante in Mexico, and the colonists viewed him as a high-minded patriot who was the embodiment of democratic hopes. Thus, when the detachment of soldiers he had sent to Texas to quell what he thought was a revolution arrived, the colonists were able to assure them that the whole incident had been an anti-centralist affair and that Santa Anna had their full support in the next election.

In 1832 the colonists held a convention at San Felipe de Austin and petitioned for the repeal of the law of 1830, and requested a separate state government for Texas (Myers, 21). Santa Anna was elected President in January, 1833, but turned his government over to Vice President Gomez Farias, a vigorous liberal. Farias rescinded the anti-immigration law of 1830, which encouraged the colonists, although nothing came of their petition. Thus, on April 1, 1833, a more militant group held another convention at San Felipe, which went so far as to draft a proposed constitution for the State of Texas. Austin was commissioned to carry the document to Mexico City.

After trying for six months to get a hearing, Austin was told by Farias that nothing would be done for the time being, and Santa Anna was non-committal. Frustrated, Austin wrote the colonists advocating that they proceed with the establishment of their own constitution. The letter fell into the hands of Farias, and Austin was imprisoned until 1835. Meanwhile, Santa Anna reclaimed the government from Farias and declared for centralism in 1824. He dissolved the congress and nullified the provisions of the Constitution of 1824. A group of Texans fired on Anahuac, but soon released with apologies the prisoners they captured. However, Santa Anna proceeded as if war had started. In the meantime, Austin arrived at Velasco, and, when the colonists learned that General Cos, brother-in-law to Santa Anna, was on his way to Texas with a detachment of troops, Austin declared that war was the only recourse. General Perfecto Cos established his headquarters at San Antonio, and sent a small detachment to Gonzales to reclaim a small cannon that the government had provided that townsite as a protection against Indian raids (Myers, 21). The demand was met with resistance, and the War of Texas Independence was officially opened.

Ben Milam and 300 volunteers entered San Antonio, defeated General Cos, and garrisoned the abandoned mission, San Antonio de Valero, now known as the Alamo. Santa Anna arrived at the head of an army February 23, 1836, and laid siege to the Alamo. The defenders of the Alamo were vastly outnumbered, yet they believed that they were fighting for the Mexican constitution of 1824. The flag that flew at the Alamo was the Mexican eagle, over which had been inscribed the numbers 1824. The small garrison of the Alamo held out for 13 days; but on March 6, Santa Anna's troops stormed the old mission fortress and slaughtered every man in it. But a few days previously, March 2, 1836, a convention had met at Washington-on-the-Brazos, and had declared Texas independent.

Meanwhile, the Commander-in-Chief of the Texan forces, General Sam Houston, who had been scouring the countryside for recruits, decided to play a waiting game by constantly retreating from Santa Anna's advancing forces. On April 20, he halted his troops on the field of San Jacinto, below the present site of Houston. A surprise attack on the Mexicans was launched during a siesta on April 21. Houston moved in quietly on the sleeping troops, and the resulting fight was more of a study in confusion than a battle. A few days later, after his troops had been soundly routed, Santa Anna was found hiding in some tall grass.

Santa Anna was forced to sign a treaty requiring that all hostilities would cease, that he would never again take up arms against Texas, that all private property taken from Texas would be returned, and that the Mexican troops were to retire beyond the Rio Grande (Stambaugh and Stambaugh, 28). The Mexican government soon repudiated Santa Anna and his treaty, although Mexican troops did retire south of the Rio Grande. Since a formal treaty was never signed between Mexico and Texas, no boundary could be fixed. Texas claimed the Rio Grande and Mexico claimed the Nueces River as the boundary. Thus, a bloody guerrilla war continued throughout the decade of the Texas Republic (1836-1846) in the span of country south of the Nueces (McWilliams, 16).

These were the events that led to the first conflict in the Southwest between the Texans and the Mexicans, although McWilliams (16) ultimately would like to lay the cause to geographical factors. The great stretch of desert between the fertile areas of Texas and the northern areas of settlement in Mexico helped to prevent settlement from Mexico. On the other hand, there was no such barrier to the east to prevent settlers from entering from the United States. McWilliams points out that by 1834, Anglos outnumbered Mexicans in Texas, 30,000 to 5,000 (16). Lozano (12) would like to believe that the Mexicans in Texas contributed substantially to the Texas independence movement, but McWilliams (16) indicates that there was little contact between the groups and that the initial impression each had of the other was unfavorable.

Certainly this impression was hardly rendered less unfavorable after the Texas Revolution by President Lamar's attempts to extend his authority over New Mexico and his giving aid to rebellious Yucatan. Nor were the Texans any more pleased with sporadic raids into Texas, or the ill-fated Mier Expedition, in which a group of Texans was captured, and every tenth one executed (Stambaugh and Stambaugh, 28). Texas had almost immediately investigated the possibility of annexation by the United States, but this was politically precluded at the time, largely by abolitionists in the north, who had decided that the whole affair was a slave-owners' plot to take soil from a freedom-loving republic (Parkes, 22). However, when annexation finally did materialize, the stage was set for the next great conflict between Anglos and Mexicans.

A resolution for the annexation of Texas passed the United States Senate on March 1, 1845, and Texas gave her approval on July 4. The Mexican ambassador to the United States left Washington in a huff, asserting it was not right that one nation should annex territory still legally belonging to another nation. But the immediate cause of the Mexican War of 1846 was the entry of the United States Army into the territory between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande (Stambaugh and Stambaugh, 28). After annexation, Texas requested the President to send troops to the western frontier to defend Texas from a threatened invasion. In August, 1845 General Zachary Taylor and 1,500 men were ordered to Corpus Christi to take over the area between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. On March 8, 1846, General Taylor moved to the Rio Grande. On April 23, 1846, President Herrera of Mexico issued a proclamation of defensive war against the United States and ordered American troops beyond the Nueces River. On May 1, the two forces met at Palo Alto and the conflict was in progress.

Mexico City was eventually captured, but, unfortunately, there were many soldiers in the American army who were sorry representatives of their culture and increased Mexican resentment by their crude and undisciplined acts. McWilliams (16) indicates that General Scott admitted that the troops were a sorry lot and that many atrocities were committed. Singletary (27, p. 144) says: "From Washington to Mexico City the volunteer soldiers in the Mexican War left a dismal trail of excesses and disorders." And to make the gall more bitter, the Mexicans were compelled to sign the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo on February 2, 1848.

By the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, Mexico ceded California, Arizona, and New Mexico to the United States, and approved the prior annexation of Texas. These lands totaled one-half of the territory that Mexico owned in 1821 (McWilliams, 16). The irony of the event was that the signers of the treaty not only forfeited an empire to the United States, but were unaware that gold had been discovered in California nine days before the treaty was signed. At the time of the signing of the treaty, there were some 73,500 Spanish-speaking people in the Southwest: 7,500 in California, 1,000 in Arizona, 60,000 in New Mexico, and 5,000 in Texas. These people were guaranteed their language, religion, and culture, and the United States theoretically recognized the claim of inhabitants to all the land rights proved by Spanish grant. But Burma (4) indicates that less than half the land once owned or used by the Hispanos in New Mexico was ever confirmed in title to a Spanish-American, for land grants were vague, not accurately recorded, and subject to expensive litigation. These people were to become United States citizens if they did not leave the area in one year. Fewer than 2,000 returned to Mexico, and all the rest became United States citizens by default.

But the United States was not finished with its annexation of Mexican territory. A survey proved that the line described in the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was based on a map that was inaccurate. Accordingly, the United States sent James Gadsden to Mexico in 1853 to make another purchase. The ever-present Santa Anna, at that time back in power, decided that he needed the money, and sold Gadsden another 45,532 square miles of Mexican territory below Arizona. This completed the transfer of the Southwest to the United States (McWilliams, 16).

During this period, after the Mexican War until 1900, Rubel (23) sees a second phase in the relationships between the Mexicans and the Americans taking shape in South Texas. Increasing numbers of American colonists were attracted to the delta lands of the Rio Grande by cheap land prices and freedom from taxation. The newcomers and the natives lived side by side, and each adopted some of the characteristic modes of life of the other. Intermarriages were common, and both groups interacted on an egalitarian basis. But it really depends, perhaps, on what events one looks at. McWilliams (16) indicates that the treaty failed to bring peace to the border lands, and that the strip between the Nueces and the Rio Grande was the romping grounds of numerous outlaw bands preying on both Texan and Mexican settlements.

From the close of the Civil War until 1880, there was nothing resembling law and order in this territory. Friction between the Anglo and the Mexican was intense and continuous in the form of raids and counter-raids. But the population of the valley area of South Texas did grow. From 8,500 residents in 1850 the population of the border counties of South Texas went to 50,000 in 1880 and 100,000 in 1910, largely due to Mexican immigration (McWilliams, 16).

As an economic empire, the Southwest dates from the passage of the Reclamation Act of 1902, which provided a policy for the development of the arid West and made possible the use of federal funds in the construction of large-scale irrigation and reclamation projects. Industrialization followed, and with rapid economic expansion after 1900, came the need for unskilled labor. Mexicans poured across the border into Texas by the thousands, and what McWilliams (16) has termed the second invasion of the borderlands (the first was the Anglo invasion from the east) had begun.

Large numbers came as contract laborers (*braceros*) to work the beet fields of Colorado, the groves of California, the railroads of the entire West, the copper mines of Arizona, and the cotton fields of Texas (Sanchez, 26). Many others came as wetbacks, a name they obtained by their practice of swimming the Rio Grande and thus entering the United States illegally.

The number of immigrants entering the United States was further increased by the political revolution in Mexico in 1910. Sanchez (26) indicates that many thousands of Mexicans were driven across the border by the fortunes of a chaotic civil war. These, too, swelled the labor market. During the First World War, from 1918 to 1921, the contract labor law of 1885 was suspended, and more than 50,000 workers were directly recruited in Mexico for employment in the United States (McWilliams, 16). The border patrol was established in 1923, and administrative restrictions were adopted in March, 1929, but by then the labor pool had been filled to overflowing with Mexican immigrants.

Manuel (14) gives the foreign-born population from Mexico in the United States for 10-year periods. In 1900, there were 100,200; in 1910 there were 201,600; in 1920 there were 427,400. This number reached its peak in 1930, with 543,000 and declined until 1960 when there was an increase in this number. Madsen (13) states that most of the Mexicans who came to Texas were economically motivated, except for the refugees from the Mexican revolution.

Mexican labor was the base of economic development of the Southwest. Starting with a scant production in 1900, by 1929 the Southwest was producing 40 percent of the nation's supply of fruits, vegetables, and truck crops – and 65 to 85 percent of the labor used in the production of these crops was Mexican labor (McWilliams, 16).

Burma (4) indicates that between 1920 and 1940 the average wage for Mexican agricultural laborers was about 18 cents an hour. The peak was about 35 cents an hour in 1928, and the low about 15 cents in 1934. The minimum wage in beets for 1950 was 60 or 65 cents an hour, with a bonus for extra work. Nonetheless, the wage differential, especially for the common laborer, had been so great between the two countries that many persons could make more money by three months' work in the United States than by a whole year's work in Mexico. So they came. The border is long and difficult to police, and probably 30 to 50 percent of Mexican immigrants have entered illegally. Burma also believes that approximately 2,500,000 Mexicans entered the United States from 1914-1954, and that probably 750,000 remained permanently.

It is the long, open nature of the border between the United States and Mexico that is a chief factor encouraging immigration, above and beyond wage differentials. This border stretches for more than 1,500 miles from Brownsville to below San Diego, and is often no more than a wire fence dividing a geographically identical region. McWilliams (16) has called this border " . . .one of the most unrealistic borders to be found in the Western Hemisphere." It is well to remember that geographically the Southwest is one with Mexico.

In 1942 the United States entered an agreement with Mexico setting forth conditions under which Mexican labor might be recruited for work in the United States. These were the war years, and, while this farm labor importation program ended December 31, 1947, more than 100,000 Mexican laborers were recruited for agricultural work in the United States during these years. Some 80,000 were recruited as section hands and maintenance workers on the rails (McWilliams, 16). But if the war years accentuated the demand for cheap Mexican labor, they also brought about something of far greater social significance – they awakened in the resident Mexican American population an increased resentment of discriminatory practices and an increased desire to combat such practices.

Burma (4) indicates that the Anglos' earliest impressions of Mexicans after the annexations following the Mexican War were that the Mexicans were poor, idle, and given to drinking, thievery, and gambling. These attitudes, he says, formed the first bases for the prejudiced stereotype of the Mexican which often exists today. Madsen (13) states that the Anglos tended to regard the Spanish-speaking population as part of the landscape that needed to be developed. Kibbe (10) points out that the majority of Mexicans who have immigrated into Texas since the turn of the century have come from the Mexican peasant population, Mexico's economically, educationally, and politically impoverished class. Discrimination was a consequence of the stereotype which identified the Mexican as poor, ignorant, and inferior.

In the Southwest, discrimination appears as lack of job opportunity, lack of educational opportunity, segregation in housing, lack of equality before the law, and various kinds of social discrimination (10). McWilliams (16) paints a startling portrait of this discrimination as it existed in the Forties. Individuals who had received the Congressional Medal of Honor during the Second World War were refused service in cafes in South Texas because they were of Mexican descent. As late as 1947, a Mexican American, who had received the Silver Star, the

Purple Heart, and a Presidential Citation for outstanding war service, was killed in a brawl resulting from his demands to be served in a Colorado night club. The owner of the establishment, did not even have his liquor license rescinded. That much of this prejudice still exists today will become apparent as the social problems of the Mexican American are discussed in Section Two.

During the war, many Mexican Americans either were drafted into the armed forces or volunteered for service. Morin (20), a Mexican American war veteran, comments:

> *Most of us were more than glad to be given the opportunity to serve in the War. We knew that there was something great about this country that was worth fighting for. We felt that this was an opportunity to show the rest of the nation that we* too *were also ready, willing, and able to fight for our nation. It did not matter whether we were looked upon as Mexicans, Mexican Americans, or belonging to a minority group; the war soon made us all* genuine *Americans, eligible and available immediately to fight and to defend our country, the United States of America (p. 24).*

Burma (4) indicates that many fought with the 36th Division from Texas, which had the third highest casualty rate among all divisions, and that 11 Spanish-speaking soldiers received the Congressional Medal of Honor. Returning soldiers were not inclined to accept meekly the discrimination that had hampered them in the past. Again, Morin (20) says: "It had never made very much difference to us and we hardly noticed it until we got back from overseas. How could we have played such a prominent part as Americans over there and now have to go back living as outsiders as before?" (p.277).

The relationships of tension and misunderstanding that exist between the Anglo population and the Mexican American population in the Southwest have been long in developing. McWilliams says (16):

> *A majority of the present-day residents of the Southwest are not familiar with the malignant conflict of cultures which has raged in the borderlands for more than a century . . . they have failed to correlate the major events in a pattern of conflict which has prevailed from Brownsville to Los Angeles since 1846 (p. 98).*

He further states:

> *Above all it is important to remember that Mexicans are a "conquered" people in the Southwest, a people whose culture has been under incessant attack for many years and whose character and achievements, as a people, have been constantly disparaged . . .(132).*

And the focal point of his solution is:

> *One of the first conditions to an improvement in Anglo-Hispano relations in the Southwest is . . .to give back to the Indio-Hispano citizens the heritage of racial pride of which we have robbed them and to teach Anglo Americans to respect and honor this heritage (p. 47).*

But giving the Mexican American this renewed sense of "the heritage of racial pride" will call for drastic reorientations in the thinking of those who plan educational programs in the school. In addition, the problem is not that simple. It is complicated by economic factors; it is complicated by social factors; it is complicated by the Mexican American's own unique way of viewing existence and his own prejudices. The educator may wish to know what educational policies to adopt in order to offer the best educational opportunities to Mexican American children; but, as nothing occurs in a vacuum, the educator cannot make intelligent decisions regarding this matter without knowing something about the nature of the social structure from which the child comes, and the intellectual, cognitive, and attitudinal structure of the child himself.

As a prelude to the discussion of these social and psychological characteristics of the Mexican American child, the educator should have an overview not only of the historical development of the relationships between the Mexican Americans and the now-dominant Anglo population, but he should also have an overview of the present-day demographic characteristics of the Spanish-speaking peoples in the Southwest. What are the present-day numbers, economic status, and educational attainments of these masters of yesterday?

II. Demographic Characteristics

Methods of Collecting Data

Before reviewing some of the salient demographic characteristics of the Mexican American population, the methods that have been used to collect data will be described. The major source of statistical data concerning these people has been the decennial censuses conducted by the United States Bureau of the Census since 1930. There have been several methods used to collect data on the Mexican American population in the Southwest. The United States Bureau of the Census (28) gives information concerning this. The first attempt to enumerate the Mexican American population occurred in the census of 1930 and was due primarily to the increased interest in this group stimulated by the heavy immigration from Mexico during the decade of the Twenties. In this census, enumerators were instructed to classify as "Mexican" all persons of Mexican origin who were not definitely white, Negro, Indian, or Japanese. Thus, the category "Mexican" in that census was one of racial classification, which made the category misleading and inexact.

McWilliams (15) points out that the classification system overlooked the fact that portions of the Southwest had been Spanish cultural provinces for several hundred years. This census found that there were 1,422,533 "Mexicans" in the United States, nine-tenths of whom were found in the five states of the Southwest, with Texas having 48.1 percent of all "Mexicans" living in the United States. But there were supposedly only 59,340 "Mexicans" in New Mexico – a suggested underestimation of 144,389.

In 1940, the category was changed. The Bureau of the Census indicates that a question on mother tongue, or language other than English spoken in earliest childhood, was asked of a five percent sample of the entire population. Thus, in that year a "Spanish mother tongue" category was obtained. The Census Bureau feels that these statistics cannot be said to cover exactly the same segment of the population as the 1930 statistics on "Mexicans" did, but that they would seem to do so to a considerable extent. Speaking of this method of collecting data in 1940, Manuel (14) indicates that it was unfortunate that the home-language basis of enumeration was abandoned in later censuses. He feels that this classification was a significant one from the standpoint of education and cultural assimilation.

The census did show that there were 1,861,400 Spanish-speaking people in the United States, and that 1,570,740 – or more than four-fifths – of these Spanish-speaking people lived in the Southwest. Only about 7 percent of the native population with Mexican parentage reported English as their mother tongue. Because the method of enumeration was changed from this "mother tongue" category in 1950, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent the above-mentioned percentage is increasing. But, as the Bureau of the Census indicates, statistics on mother tongue tend to underestimate the full extent of foreign origin for the second and later generations.

In 1950 and 1960, data relating to persons of Spanish-American and Mexican American origin were obtained by identifying individuals of Spanish surname on the census schedules. This procedure was limited to the five Southwestern states, and the Bureau of the Census states that the method proved to be relatively efficient and economical. The regular coders were given a list of about 7,000 Spanish surnames originally compiled by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in 1936, and were instructed to classify a name as Spanish only if it appeared on this list. The 1960 census employed the same basic list of names as that used in 1950, with a few additions and deletions to correct for obvious errors. The coders were given more extensive training in recognizing Spanish surnames in 1950 than in 1960, but the Bureau of the Census holds the results of the two censuses to be comparable. The validity and reliability of the Spanish-surname classification were not so great as they might have been had the classification been made by a committee of experts.

The system does have drawbacks. For instance, certain surnames are common to a number of languages, and hence a complete dichotomy of Spanish and non-Spanish names is not possible. Surnames identified with other European nationalities are found among Latin Americans, and there has also been some Anglicization of surnames initially Spanish. In addition, marriage of females to males not possessing Spanish surnames would account for some loss from the Spanish surname group. Manuel (14) believes that the figures from these censuses probably underestimate by 7 to 12 percent, and that a 10 percent correction factor should be added to these figures in the way of compensation. The Bureau of the Census believes, however, that the general adequacy of the classification is not invalidated by these limitations, and that the Spanish surname classification does identify a population with distinctive economic and social characteristics that correlate highly with certain national origins.

Numbers, Growth, Distribution, and Immigration

According to Manuel's interpretation of the census data (14) the total population of the five states of the Southwest in 1960 was 29,304,012, of which the Spanish surname population totaled 3,465,000. This means that the Spanish-surname population constitutes approximately 12 percent of the total population of the Southwest. The Spanish-surname population constitutes 2.3 percent of the total population of the United States by comparison (Barrett, 1). This percentage of the Spanish-surname population represents a 51.3 percent increase in the size of that population in the Southwest since 1950, the Anglo population growing 36.5 percent.

Combining data given by Manuel (14), Barrett (1), and Browning and McLemore (2), it may be seen that the Spanish-surname population of Texas in 1960 was 1,417,810, representing 40.9 percent of the total Spanish-surname population of the Southwest. The Spanish-surname population increased 37.1 percent in Texas during the decade, while the Anglo population increased 22.2 percent. The other four states of the Southwest may be examined for the sake of comparison. In 1960 the Spanish-surname population of California was 1,426,538, representing 41.2 percent of the total Spanish-surname population of the Southwest and 9.1 percent of the population of that state. The Spanish-surname population increased in that state from 1950 to 1960 by 87.6 percent, while the Anglo population increased 42.3 percent. New Mexico's Spanish-surname population in 1960 was 269,122, which represents 7.8 percent of the Spanish-surname population of the Southwest and 28.3 percent of the population of the state. This figure represents an increase of the Spanish-surname population of New Mexico of 8.1 percent during the decade of 1950 to 1960, the Anglo population having increased 59.1 percent. In Arizona, the Spanish-surname population in 1960 was 194,356, which constituted 5.6 percent of the total Spanish-surname population of the Southwest, and 14.9 percent of the total population of the state. This figure represented an increase in the Spanish-surname population of that state of 51.5 percent since 1950, while the Anglo population grew 85.3 percent. The Spanish-surname population in Colorado in 1960 was 157,173, which was 4.5 percent of the total Spanish-speaking population of the Southwest in 1960, and 9 percent of the total population of the state. This represented an increase in the Spanish-surname population of Colorado of 32.9 percent during the 10-year period from 1950 to 1960, while the Anglo population increased 30.0 percent.

A number of facts emerge from these figures. First, 82.1 percent of the total Spanish-surname population of the Southwest is located in California and Texas, with California having a slightly higher number of Spanish-surname individuals than does Texas. That is, in the Southwest, approximately four out of every five individuals with a Spanish-surname live in either California or Texas, with approximately two out of every five such individuals residing in Texas. New Mexico has the greatest ratio of Spanish-surname individuals to total state population of the five states of the Southwest, followed by Arizona, Texas, California, and Colorado in that order. The Spanish-surname population has manifested the greatest rate of growth during 1950 to 1960 in California, followed by Arizona, Texas, Colorado, and New Mexico in that order. Comparing the Spanish-surname population's rate of growth with the Anglo rate of growth during the same 10-year period the Spanish-surname population grew more rapidly than the Anglo population in California, Texas, and Colorado. California manifested the greatest ratio of increase with Texas and Colorado following in that order. Anglos showed the greatest rate of increase in New Mexico, followed by Arizona.

If it is assumed that the vast majority of Spanish-surname individuals speak Spanish (an assumption made by all writers), then these figures mean, according to Barrett (1), that approximately one out of every three and one-half citizens in New Mexico is Spanish-speaking; one out of every 7 in Texas is Spanish-speaking and one out of every 11 in California and Colorado is Spanish-speaking. However, if one applies the 10 percent correction factor that Manuel (14) feels is necessary to correct for inaccuracies in the 1960 census, the ratio of Spanish-speaking to English-speaking individuals becomes one out of every 3 in New Mexico, one out of every 6 in Arizona and Texas, and one out of every 10 in California and Colorado.

Nearly all of 254 counties in Texas have at least some persons with Spanish surname, according to Browning and McLemore (2). However, 17 counties account for more than 50 percent of the Spanish-surname population of Texas, and they are all located on or near the border. The highest concentration of Spanish surnames in Texas is found in Starr County, 88.7 percent of its population. Some comparisons of the Spanish-surname population to the total population of various counties are: Kenedy, 80.5 percent; Jim Hogg, 76.9 percent; Zapata, 74.8 percent; Duval, 73.1 percent; Hidalgo, 71.4 percent; Willacy, 68.4 percent; and Cameron, 64.0 percent. In fact, a line drawn from the northern tip of Reeves County in West Texas to Port Lavaca on the Gulf Coast would, in general, separate those counties of Texas south of the line which have 25 percent or more Spanish-surname population from those counties north of the line which have less than 25 percent Spanish-surname population.

It is interesting to note, however, that the eight counties (Bell, Bowie, Ector, Hale, Taylor, Lubbock, Tarrant, and Dallas) which had growth rates of Spanish-surname population exceeding 100 percent from 1950 to 1960 were in the north part of the state, whereas the 10 counties evidencing either a loss of Spanish-surname population or gains less than 10 percent during this period (Atascosa, Bee, Brooks, Dimmit, Duval, Frio, Karnes, Val Verde, Willacy, and Webb) are all in the south part of the state. The following seven counties accounted for 58.6 percent of the Spanish-surname population of Texas in 1960: Bexar, El Paso, Hidalgo, Cameron, Nueces, Harris, and Webb.

Browning and McLemore report the following data concerning nativity and parentage: The natives of native parentage among the Spanish-surname population constituted 54.8 percent of the total Spanish-surname population in Texas; natives of foreign or mixed parentage constituted 31.2 percent, and foreign born individuals constituted 14 percent. By comparison, the Spanish-surname population of California consisted of 46.0 percent natives of native parentage in 1960, 34.0 percent natives of foreign or mixed parentage, and 20.0 foreign-born. Placing the categories in that order, the percentages in each category of the Spanish-surname population of the other states of the Southwest in 1960 were: Arizona, 49.3 percent, 33.1 percent, and 17.6 percent; New Mexico, 87.4 percent, 8.6 percent, and 3.9 percent; Colorado, 86.1 percent, 10.4 percent, and 3.5 percent.

The preceding figures show that in 1960 about 85 out of every 100 Spanish-surname individuals in the Southwest were native-born (Barrett, 1). These figures also show that 86 percent of the Spanish-surname population in Texas was native born. In addition, in every state of the Southwest approximately 50 percent or more of the Spanish-surname population was native-born of native parentage, that is, at least second-generation citizens of the United States. New Mexico, historically the oldest area of Spanish concentration in the Southwest, had the largest number of Spanish-surname individuals who were native-born of native parentage, followed by Colorado, Texas, Arizona, and California in that order. This not only indicates those areas in which the Spanish-surname population has resided for the longest period of time (notably New Mexico), but it also gives a rough indication of those areas into which recent immigrant populations have been moving. Immigrants have not moved to any considerable extent into either New Mexico or Colorado to swell the Spanish-surname population of foreign-born and thus reduce the percentage of native-born. They have, however, moved into other states. Thus, while New Mexico has a foreign-born element of 3.9 percent among its Spanish-surname population and Colorado 3.5 percent, the foreign-born element among the Spanish-surname population in Texas constitutes 14 percent, 17.6 percent in Arizona, and 20 percent in California.

Combining data given by Moore and Mittelbach (19), Barrett (1), Manuel (14), and Browning and McLemore (2) renders the following information on rural-urban residence: In 1960, 81.1 percent of the Anglo population of the five states of the Southwest and 79.1 percent of the Spanish-surname population of the Southwest lived in urban areas. This percentage of Spanish-surname individuals who live in urban areas represents an increase of 80.3 percent over the number of Spanish-surname individuals who lived in urban areas in the Southwest in 1950. In contrast, the number of individuals in the total population of the Southwest living in urban areas in 1960 represented an increase of only 58 percent over the number of such individuals in the total population living in urban areas in 1950. Correspondingly, from 1950 to 1960 the number of individuals living in rural areas in the Southwest decreased 7.1 percent for the total population of the Southwest, and 5.9 percent for the Spanish-speaking population of the Southwest. The only state that did not evidence such a decrease in both the total population and the Spanish-surname population was California, where the percentage of the total population living in rural areas increased 4.8 percent from 1950 to 1960, and the percentage of the Spanish-surname population living in rural areas increased 13.2 percent. Nonetheless, the number of Spanish-surname individuals living in urban areas evidenced a 114.4 increase from 1950 to 1960 in the state of California, giving California the highest percentage of increase in urbanization among the Spanish-surname population in the five states of the Southwest. Arizona came next with an 84.9 percent increase; then Colorado with an 84.0 percent increase; and lastly, New Mexico, with a 52.3 percent increase.

An analysis of the figures reveals that in all states of the Southwest except Texas the Anglo population in 1960 was slightly more urbanized than was the Spanish-surname population. The percentage of the population that lived in urban areas in each state was as follows: In California, 85.4 percent of the Spanish-surname and 86.0 percent of the Anglo; in Texas, 78.6 of the Spanish-surname and 74.3 percent of the Anglo; in Arizona, 74.9 percent of the Spanish-surname and 79.7 of the Anglo; and in New Mexico, 57.6 percent of the Spanish-surname and 73.4 percent of the Anglo.

The figures clearly indicate that the Spanish-surname population of the Southwest is predominantly urbanized. According to Manuel's interpretation of the census data of 1960 (14), the three cities of the Southwest having the largest Spanish-surname population are Los Angeles, San Antonio, and El Paso. The Spanish-surname population of Los Angeles is 260,389, and this represents 10.5 percent of the population of that city. San Antonio has a Spanish-surname population of 243,627, which represents 41.4 percent of that city's population. The Spanish-surname population of El Paso is 125,745, which represents 45.4 percent of that city's population. Other cities have a larger ratio of Spanish-surname population to total population, such as Brownsville where the ratio is 73.8 percent, although they do not have as large an absolute number of Spanish-surname individuals as the cities mentioned above.

Grebler (7) indicates that there are five distinctive features about the movement of individuals across the border from Mexico. First, the movement is recent, the first significant wave of immigration not beginning before 1910. Second, there is an extraordinary variety of types of movement: legal, illegal, contract labor, commuting workers, etc. Third, the movement has been intense. In eight of the years from 1954 to 1964 more people came on an immigration visa from Mexico than from any other country. Fourth, migration occurs over an unusually long border. Even today smugglers in the Rio Grande area and in the western desert section bring people into the United States who cannot afford the necessary fees or who do not qualify for normal entry and Mexicans are drawn across the boundary by the pull of economic opportunity. Fifth, the migration intentions of Mexicans seemed to have been less certain than those of other immigrants during the era of mass migration. Manuel (14) gives the number of immigrants from Mexico for 10 year periods. From 1901 to 1910 there were only 49,642. From 1911 to 1920 the number increased to 219,004, and reached a peak during the 1921-1930 decade with 459,287. From 1931-1940 the number fell to 22,319, rising again from 1941-1950 to 60,589. From 1951 to 1960 there is a substantial increase to 299,811.

Grebler (7) gives the following information on state of intended residence of Mexican immigrants: From 1955 to 1959, 40 percent of Mexican immigrants indicated that they planned to reside in California, 39.5 percent in Texas, 3.9 percent in Arizona, 2.5 percent in New Mexico, .4 percent in Colorado, and 13.7 percent in all other states. From 1960 to 1964, 55.6 percent of Mexican immigrants indicated that they planned to reside in California, 25.1

percent in Texas, 5.7 percent in Arizona, 2.5 percent in New Mexico, .4 percent in Colorado, and 10.6 percent in all other states. California attracts the largest number of Mexican immigrants, with Texas ranking second.

Median Age and Family Size

The median age is that age which 50 percent of a population fall below and 50 percent fall above. The median age of the Spanish-surname population of the Southwest is slightly over 19 years. The median age in the five states of the Southwest of the total white population, which includes the Spanish-speaking, is slightly more than 28 years (Barrett, 1). The breakdown of median age of the two populations by state is as follows: In California, the Spanish-surname median age is 22.1 years and the total white median age is 30.4 years. In Arizona, the median age of the Spanish-surname is 19.3 years, and the total white population's is 26.7 years. In New Mexico, 18.3 years is the median age of the Spanish-surname population, and 23.4 years is the median age of the total white population. In Colorado, the Spanish-surname population median age is 18.1 years, and the total white population's is 28.0 years. The Spanish-surname population of Texas has a median age of 18.0 years – the lowest among all Southwest states – and the median age of the total white population in Texas in 27.4 years.

Barrett (1) also indicates that there are important differences within the Spanish-surname population according to nativity, parentage, and residence. In the Southwest, urban natives of native parentage have a median age of 12.8 years; rural nonfarm natives of native parentage have a median age of 14.4 years, and rural farm natives of native parentage have a median age of 14.0 years. In the category of natives of Mexican parentage, urban residents have a median age of 23.9 years; rural nonfarm residents have a median age of 20.1 years; and rural farm residents have a median age of 18.8 years. In the category of Mexican-born individuals, urban residents have a median age of 44.8 years; rural nonfarm residents have a median age of 40.3 years, and rural farm residents have a median age of 34.4 years. Figures for the individual states show very similar trends. In Texas, Spanish-surname individuals of native parentage and urban residence have a median age of 12.0 years, while those of native parentage and rural farm residence have a median age of 13.0 years. In the natives of Mexican parentage category, urban residents have a median age of 23.5 years, and rural farm residents have a median age of 20.9 years. In the category of Mexican-born individuals, those of urban residence have a median age of 46.5 years, and those of rural farm residence have a median age of 37.2 years.

These figures indicate that the Spanish-surname population of the Southwest is a young population, and includes many more young people than does the total white population. The greatest number of young people within the Spanish-surname population will be found among natives of native parentage, and within this subgroup the largest number of young people will be found in the cities. Heller (9) indicates that teenagers constitute about 21 percent of the Anglo-American population in the Southwest, but only 16 percent of the Anglo-American population.

Heller provides a chart (p. 28) that indicates approximately 16 percent of the Mexican American population is under five years old, while only approximately 9.5 percent of the Anglo American population is under five years. She further indicates that nine out of 10 Mexican American youths, ages 15 to 19, are native-born, and that both parents of six out of 10 of these youths were born in the United States. Thus, she concludes, the majority of these youths are at least third-generation Americans. According to Browning and McLemore (2), 44.0 percent of Spanish-surname individuals in Texas are in the 0-14 age range; 51.7 percent are in the 15-64 range, while only 3.8 percent are 65 years of age or older. By contrast, the

Anglo population in Texas divides as follows: 0-14 years, 30.1 percent; 15-64 years, 61.2 percent; 65 years or above, 8.7 percent. This indicates that every person in the "working" ages of 15-64 years in the Spanish-surname population has another person dependent upon him. By contrast, within the Anglo population there are approximately two adult workers for every dependent. Not only is the burden of dependency greater for the Spanish-surname population, but the youthfulness of the Spanish-surname population necessitates more schooling facilities for this group than for the Anglo population in Texas.

Not only is the Spanish-surname population a young population, the size of families within this population is large. Manuel (14) provides the following information: In the Southwest, among the general population, 54.9 percent of all families have only two or three members in the family. Among all the families of the Spanish-surname population of the Southwest, only 35.4 percent of the families have only two or three members. However, 19.2 percent of the families of the Spanish-surname population have seven or more members, while the percentage for this family size among the general population is only 5.8 percent.

The direction of these percentages is the same in all five states of the Southwest. Texas, however, has the smallest number of Spanish-surname families having only two or three members, and the largest number having seven or more members. Browning and McLemore (2) give the following figures for Texas: There are 270,438 Spanish-surname families and 1,857,297 Anglo families in Texas. In the category of two persons in the family, there are 15 percent of the Spanish-surname families and 34.8 percent of the Anglo families. The following percentages of Spanish-surname families and Anglo families fall within the following categories: three persons in the family, Spanish-surname, 16.3 percent, Anglo, 22.5 percent; four persons in the family, Spanish-surname, 16.8 percent, Anglo, 20.9 percent; five persons in the family, Spanish-surname, 14.8 percent, Anglo, 12.5 percent; six persons in the family, Spanish-surname, 12.3 percent, Anglo, 5.6 percent; seven or more persons in the family, Spanish-surname, 24.8 percent, Anglo, 3.7 percent. The Spanish-surname population of Texas is a population of large families.

Income and Occupation

There are at least two broad ways of viewing income: first, by median income of employed individuals, and second, by median income of families. Beginning with the first, Browning and McLemore (2) report that the median income of employed Anglo males 14 years of age and over for each of the five Southwest states is: California, $5,242; New Mexico, $4,842; Arizona, $4,574; Colorado, $4,378; and Texas, $4,137. The income of the Spanish-surname employed males 14 years of age and over in each of the five Southwest states is: California, $3,849 or 73 percent of the Anglo income; New Mexico, $2,630 or 54 percent of the Anglo income; Arizona, $2,814 or 64 percent of the Anglo income; and Texas, $2,029 or 49 percent of the Anglo income. Compared to the Anglo income, the Spanish-surname income of employed males 14 years of age or over is lower in Texas than in any other Southwestern state. While the Spanish-surname income is nearly three-quarters that of the Anglo income in California, the Spanish-surname income is less than one-half that of the Anglo income in Texas. These figures were based on 1959 income data, as reported in the 1960 census.

In Texas, as within the other four Southwestern states, there are differences in median income within the Spanish-surname population according to nativity and residence. Spanish-surname natives of native parentage in Texas who were employed males 14 years of age and over had a median income of $2,024; the urban residents of this subgroup had a median income of $2,286; and the rural residents of this subgroup had a median income of $1,369. Foreign-born Spanish-surname employed males 14 years of age or over had a median income of $1,731; the urban residents of this subgroup had a median income of $1,978; and the rural farm residents of this subgroup had a median income of $1,336. Surprisingly, however, it was the employed males 14 years of age and over in the category of natives of foreign or mixed parentage who had the highest median income per year. The median income of this subgroup of the Spanish-surname population of Texas was $2,274; the urban residents of this subgroup had a median income of $2,495 and the rural farm residents of this subgroup had a median income of $1,389.

Barrett (1) and Manuel (14) give some interesting information on selected occupations of males aged 14 years or over in the Southwest. In every state of the Southwest except Arizona, the category "Operatives and Kindred Workers (bus drivers, dressmakers, railroad brakemen, etc.)" claimed larger numbers of Spanish-surname workers than any other occupational category. These types of jobs are more commonly found in cities, and thus may reflect the urbanization of the Spanish-surname population of the Southwest. Although the percentage of professional, technical, and kindred workers (engineers, lawyers, physicians, teachers, etc.) has doubled or almost doubled in all five states of the Southwest from 1950 to 1960, all percentages in this category still remain low. In Texas, professional and technical workers constituted 1.7 percent of Spanish-surname employed males 14 years of age or over in 1950, and 3.1 percent in 1960. On the other hand, farm laborers and foremen have greatly decreased in number from 1950 to 1960, except in Arizona where the percentage has slightly increased. In Texas, farm laborers and foremen constituted 26.8 percent of this male working force in 1950, and 16.2 percent in 1960.

Investigating income by family is in some ways more revealing. Manuel (14) reports that according to the 1960 census there were 21 percent of the families in the general population of the Southwest who have incomes less than $3,000. By comparison, 34.8 percent of the Spanish-surname families in the Southwest have incomes less than $3,000. These percentages vary from state to state. California has the least number of both general population and Spanish-surname families with annual incomes less than $3,000, with 14.1 percent of the families in the general population and 19.1 percent Spanish-surname families. In Texas, 32.5 percent of the families in the general population and 51.6 percent of Spanish-surname families have incomes less than $3,000 per year. If $3,000 is considered to be the poverty level, then one out of every two Spanish-surname families residing in Texas lives in poverty. These are income figures per family, not per person. Considering the larger size of Spanish-surname families, it is easy to visualize that the Spanish-surname family with an income less than $3,000 may be living in greater poverty than the Anglo family with the same income. The differential between Anglo and Spanish-surname families is most striking when the percentages of families with incomes of $10,000 or more are reviewed. Among the general population of the Southwest, 17.6 percent of the total number of families have incomes of $10,000 or more, as compared with 6.6 percent of the Spanish-surname families. In Texas, these figures are: general population, 11.8 percent of all families; Spanish-surname population, 2.7 percent.

It is interesting to compare the median income of the Spanish-surname groups within certain metropolitan areas with the state, Anglo, and Spanish-surname per capita median annual income. Browning and McLemore indicate that the median per capita annual income in 1959 for occupied males 14 years of age or over was $3,443 for the entire state of Texas, $4,137 for the Anglo population, and $2,029 for the Spanish-surname population. In that same year the median income for the Spanish-surname group in Beaumont-Port Arthur was $5,758; in Dallas, $4,378; in Amarillo, $4,220; in Fort Worth, $4,679; in Galveston-Texas City,$4,104; in Houston, $4,339; in El Paso, $3,857; in Odessa, $3,690; in Lubbock, $3,084;

in San Antonio, $3,446; in Corpus Christi, $2,974; in Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito, $2,206. The Spanish-surname population is not only making more money in the cities, it also seems to be making more money in the northern and eastern cities in general than in the western, central, or southern cities. These western, central, and southern cities lie within the very area of Texas in which the concentration of Spanish-surname individuals is the greatest. In any event, the urban Spanish-surname populations are definitely making more money than the per capita income for Spanish-surname occupied males 14 years of age and over throughout Texas.

Educational Attainment and School Enrollment

Although educational attainments and school enrollments are probably of greatest interest to the educator, they have been saved until last since they should be viewed in the light of other factors. Large family sizes and low incomes may lead one to conclude that educational attainments among the Spanish-surname population are also low. This conclusion is correct. The median for school years completed by Spanish-surname individuals varies from state to state. Barrett (1) gives the following data: The median for school years completed by Spanish-surname individuals of both sexes 14 years of age and over in 1960 was 9.0 years in California; 8.6 years in Colorado; 8.4 years in New Mexico; 7.9 years in Arizona; and 6.1 years in Texas. By contrast, the total white population of both sexes 14 years of age and over completed 12.1 years in California; 12.1 years in Colorado; 11.5 years in New Mexico; 11.7 years in Arizona; and 10.8 years in Texas. It is evident that the greatest difference between the median for school years completed for the total white population and for the Spanish-surname population exists in Texas, with a difference of 4.7 years. The least difference exists in California and New Mexico, the difference in each state being 3.1 years. Heller (9) indicates that Spanish-surname males 14 years of age or over in the five states of the Southwest have among their number 29 percent who are either illiterate (no schooling) or functionally illiterate (one to four years of schooling), while this percentage was only 6 percent for all "white" males in the United States. If the focus is shifted to males 25 years of age or over, then 36 percent – more than one third – of the Mexican American male population in the five states of the Southwest was illiterate or functionally illiterate, compared to only 5 percent of Anglo-American males.

Shifting to the other end of the educational scale, as few as 8 percent of the Mexican American males but as many as 27 percent of the Anglo-American males, 25 years of age and over, had completed one or more years of college in 1960.

In Texas, as in other states, there are differences in the median for school years completed according to nativity and parentage, and residence. As against the 6.1 median for school years completed by Spanish-surname individuals of both sexes of 14 years of age or more, Browning and McLemore (2) report that urban Spanish-surname native males of native parentage in Texas had a median of 7.5 years of school completed in 1960. The median for rural farm natives of native parentage was 5.7 years. For urban natives of foreign or mixed parentage, the median was 7.1 years and for rural farm natives of foreign or mixed parentage the median was 3.8 years, and for rural farm foreign-born males the median was 2.4 years. The percentages are very similar for females. Again, the urban Spanish-surname population seems to be doing the best educationally, although the natives of native parentage seem to be doing better educationally than economically when they are compared to natives of foreign or mixed parentage.

In shifting the emphasis to individuals 25 years of age and over, the median for school years completed by the Anglo population in Texas in 1960 was 11.5 years, but only 6.1 years for the Spanish-surname population (Browning and McLemore, 2). Of the total Anglo population 25 years of age and over, 1.1 percent had completed no years of schooling, while 22.9 percent of the Spanish-surname population in this age range had completed no years of schooling. Among the Anglo population, 31.2 percent had completed some elementary schooling only (grades 1-8) as compared to 56.8 percent among the Spanish-surname population. Those who had completed some high school grades (grades 9-12) totaled 46.5 percent among the Anglo population, but only 16.1 percent among the Spanish-surname population. In the Anglo population 25 years of age or more, 21.2 percent had completed some years of college, but only 4.2 percent of the Spanish-surname population had done so.

The Spanish-surname population 25 years of age or over in metropolitan areas attained a median of 8.7 years of school completed in Beaumont-Port Arthur in 1960; 8.1 years in Amarillo; 7.7 years in Fort Worth; 6.6 years in El Paso; 6.4 years in Houston; 5.7 years in San Antonio; 5.4 years in Laredo; and 3.9 years in Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito. Such figures have led Browning and McLemore (2) to believe that variations in educational level may be related to variations in relative size of the Spanish-surname population. Or, as far as Texas is concerned, variations in educational levels among minorities may be related to nearness to Mexico. Assuming that the economic conditions of minority ethnic groups decline with increasing concentration, then it may be that the educational level of minority groups is inversely related to their proportional population concentration.

Browning and McLemore (2) also indicate that the percentages of Spanish-surname population between 5 to 34 years enrolled in school are: New Mexico, 57.7 percent; Colorado, 57.0 percent; California, 51.7 percent; Arizona, 51.5 percent; and Texas, 49.5 percent. (School enrollment for young Spanish-surname children ages five and six ranges from a high of 79.7 percent in California to a low of 33.7 percent in Texas, probably due to the lack of Texas programs for the five-year-old).

In Texas, 85.8 percent of Anglo children ages 5 through 15 are enrolled in school, as are 80.2 percent of Spanish-surname children in this age group. In the 16 through 19 age category, 64.3 percent of the Anglo children are enrolled in school, while only 46.2 percent of the Spanish-surname children in this age category are enrolled. In the 20 through 34 age category, 8.1 percent of the Anglo population, and 4.9 percent of the Spanish-surname population are enrolled in school. These findings suggest that, while Spanish-surname students are moving toward equality at the lower educational levels, they are more likely than the Anglo group to drop out of school before the age of 19 (Browning and McLemore, 2). Utilizing data supplied by the above-mentioned authors, when the total school enrollment of all ethnic groups in the state of Texas from the ages of five through 19 is considered, one may conclude that approximately one out of every six school children in this age category had a Spanish-surname.

PART TWO

Social Characteristics and Problems of the Atomistic Society

Rubel (25) has suggested that the social system of the Spanish-speaking peoples may be described as an "atomistic society." He defines this type of society as one in which the social system is characterized by an absence of close cooperation between nuclear families, in which such qualities as contention and wariness figure into the perceptions which nuclear families hold of each other, and in which such social behavior and emotional qualities are consonant with normative expectations (p. 207). The social system of such a society may be described in terms of three organizing factors. First, the nuclear family is considered the basic unit in terms of which one should pursue economic and social ends. Second, the relationships beyond the range of the family are between one individual and another, rather than between an individual and a group of others. Third, the relationships between one person and others are characterized by a high degree of personalism. This viewpoint emphasizes the high importance placed upon the family; and, since the young child's first significant relationships are formed almost entirely within the realm of his family, the literature concerning the family structure of Spanish-speaking peoples may be the most worthwhile place to begin a review of the social characteristics of Spanish-speaking peoples.

I. Intra-familial Relations and Roles

Madsen (16) states that the most important role of the individual is his familial role and that the family is the most valued institution in Mexican American society. It is the main focus of social identification in all classes of Mexican American society, and to violate one's obligations to one's parents or siblings is a very serious offense. Authority within the family is invested in the father (Heller, 12). He is conceived as the ruler of his household, and the maker of all important family decisions (Edmondson, 10). Ideally, the Mexican American male is entitled to unquestioning obedience from his wife and his children. He is conceived as having "superior" strength and intelligence, which places him above criticism (Madsen, 16). Thus, within the home, interpersonal relations, especially with the father figure, are characterized by decorum and respect. The ideal male role is highlighted by the concept of *machismo,* or manliness. The male needs to make of his life a validation of the assumption that the male is stronger, more reliable, and more intelligent than the female. The concept of "manliness" outweighs all other aspects of prestige next to devotion to the family.

The father is the disciplinarian of the family. He sees that the children stay in line, and he punishes transgressions (Madsen, 16). The father, however, does not lack tenderness for his children, for both fathers and mothers express deep affection and concern for their children (Clark, 8). At times the father will play with his children, but such displays of sentiment are usually confined to very young children, and take place mainly within the home. The father's role as an authoritarian figure becomes clearly crystallized as children experience the onset of puberty and "reason," at which time the father withdraws from the role of playmate to that of dignified master of the home. The father may appear to the child as an aloof enforcer of proper behavior, and tenderness is always deeply colored with respect (Edmondson, 10).

Generally, the world outside the home is a man's world. In relation to the female, the Mexican male is in a position of prestige, freedom, and superordination. He does not usually entertain friends in his own home. Demonstrating his sexual prowess by seeking extramarital affairs is viewed as an affirmation of his "manliness" and is a means of winning him prestige among his male acquaintances (Madsen, 16; Edmondson, 10). The only requirement is that such affairs be handled discreetly enough that he does not get caught. Maintaining a mistress in a second household known as a *casa chica* is the most convincing way of proving his *machismo* and his financial ability (Madsen, 16).

On the other hand, the woman must ideally be a model of purity. The wife owes her husband absolute sexual fidelity, and is to be tolerant of his pastimes and extramarital affairs (Madsen, 16). Her place is within the home, and her role is subordinate and restricted. A woman's primary obligation as a wife is to please her husband, and make a home for him. As a mother, her responsibility is the well-being of her children. Her marriage is her career.

The mother has the principal charge of caring for children under six and the education of the girls in the family. While the father is away at work, the mother is the unquestioned authority in the family, but obedience is less likely to be enforced by physical punishment than by invoking paternal authority or feelings of love and duty (Edmondson, 10). While either parent may administer physical punishment to smaller children, mothers avoid administering such punishment to older children, if possible (Clark, 8). Either parent may punish an older daughter, but an older son is usually disciplined only by the father. Mother-child relationships tend to emphasize tenderness more than respect and authority (Edmondson, 10).

In return for adult domination which is not to be questioned, children receive much love and attention (Tuck, 33). They experience the warmth and security of many close personal relationships. But children are generally considered to be past infancy when a younger sibling is born, and they are then often left to their own devices to amuse themselves. At this time they are often placed in the care of older siblings (Clark, 8). Small children may have a few toys, but they seem to show less interest in them than Anglo children of the same age. Older infants may be given a toy to play with, but just as frequently they may be given a comb, compact, cigarette case, or key ring. Boys and girls may play together until they are seven or eight years old, but they are then encouraged to play separately. Although parents do not seem to be "bothered" by having children around, they talk very little to their small children except to answer questions and to give instructions.

A son owes his parents respect and obedience, but as the boy moves into puberty his ties to the home become looser, and he may spend most of his free time with male friends away from the home. He may tend to form loosely knit play associations with other Mexican American youth, known as *palomillas* (Madsen, 16). The membership in these groups may be constantly changing, and they lack formal organization and leadership. Common interests and the pleasure of social interaction hold these groups together. It is within these groups that Mexican American boys may learn the terminology and techniques of sex through informal discussion, since sex instruction within the home is rare. Rubel (25) believes that these groups may contribute to the atomistic nature of Mexican American society since these groups are little more than aggregations organizing a minimum number of individuals into loose relationships, in which a sense of obligation between associates is absent, and in which participants are unable to exercise leadership over one another.

In contrast, at the onset of puberty a daughter is pulled more tightly into the home in order to protect her purity (Madsen, 16). She is not allowed to be alone with a boy. Girls of all ages are expected to help their mothers with the housework and the care of younger children. These obligations increase as the daughter's age increases, and she is pulled more tightly into the sphere of the home. Ideal relationships between the daughter and her mother become especially close, due in part, according to Madsen (16), to the female tendency to group together in a male-dominated world. The relationship between a daughter and her mother is of great importance and lasts throughout a woman's married life (Rubel, 25).

Older siblings are encouraged to develop a sense of responsibility toward the younger children in the family. They have authority over younger ones, and an older child may be punished if a younger brother or sister in his care misbehaves (Clark, 8; Madsen, 16). Due to this hierarchy of authority, an older sibling, particularly an older brother, may be feared by his juniors. A brother is expected to feel strong obligations of mutual support toward his siblings of both sexes (Edmondson, 10). A boy must protect his younger brothers, and should seek advice from his older brother. Brothers must stand together in time of trouble, and together protect their sisters. The older brother must always be obeyed and respected (Madsen, 16). Edmondson (10) feels that the relatively strict hierarchical structure of sibling relations within the Spanish-speaking family may serve to control manifestations of sibling rivalry.

The authority and responsibility of an older brother, and to a lesser degree of an older sister, are quasi-parental (Edmondson, 10). In fact, if the father is deceased or absent, the oldest son is expected to become his surrogate (Rubel, 25). Thus, ideal relationships between an older and a younger brother call for patterns of respect similar to those expected between father and son. As brothers grow, their relationship becomes formalized, and they do not play or engage in frivolity together. Madsen (16) believes these respect patterns governing the relationships between brothers account for an older boy's association with a different set of friends outside the home, and the formation of *palomillas.*

A sister occupies a place of special tenderness – she often cares for younger children when she herself may be no more than five or six years old (Edmondson, 10). A brother has a special obligation to protect his sister and her honor, and this obligation is usually taken quite seriously. Sisters are very close, a tie usually maintained even after marriage. The bond between sisters is so strong that sisters' husbands are separated from all other relatives-in-law by a special kinship bond known as the *concuno* relationship (Rubel, 25).

The Mexican American family, persisting in traditional forms, continues to be an extended type of family evidencing strong ties which spread through a number of generations in a large web of kinship (Heller, 12). Obligations of mutual assistance and reciprocal favors prevail among kinsmen, and a diffuse solidarity may be extended to include almost any degree of blood or affinal relationships (Edmondson, 10). Outside the nuclear family, relationships to individuals in kinship roles may be viewed as variations on themes set up in the roles of father, mother, son, daughter, brother, and sister. Clark (8) states that children live and mature in a wide circle of kinsmen.

Particularly important to an individual is his mother's sisters (Rubel, 25). An individual's relations with aunts and uncles tend to be somewhat formal and very respectful (Clark, 8). Children are close to their grandparents, but they are less formal with them than their own parents. Grandparents may demonstrate affection for their grandchildren more frequently than parents do. The respect accorded to grandparents, however, is not extended to siblings of the grandparents (Rubel, 25). First cousins *(primos hermanos)* are considered to be somewhat like one's sisters or brothers – they are conceptually separated from all other degrees of cousinship in one's own generation. This distinction is lost, however, in the generation of the cousin's children.

The institution of *compadrazgo* or coparenthood extends the range of kinship beyond genetic links. Madsen (16) defines *compadres* or coparents as "...sponsors who assume carefully defined roles in relation to the other participants in a religious ceremony establishing ritual kinship." Clark (8) notes that *compadrazgo* is a significant social institution throughout the Catholic folk cultures of southern Europe and Latin America. The most important *compadrazgo* relationship is initiated at the time of baptism, and the baptismal godparents of one's children become the most important *compadres* (Rubel, 25; Madsen, 16).

Ritual kinsmen are expected to respect each other and to help each other materially (Rubel, 25). Godparents *(padrinos)* are expected to furnish ceremonial clothing for the sponsored child *(ahijado)* and to defray the costs of the rite. They have a social obligation to the child to see that he does not lack the necessities of life, and they are expected to provide goods and money for the child's rearing if the parents are unable to make such provisions. They may give advice and administer discipline to the child whenever they think it necessary, with or without the invitation of the parents (Clark, 8). *Compadres* may be selected from among one's own relatives, such as an uncle, aunt, or cousin. It is, however, considered bad taste to choose a *compadre* having higher social or economic status than oneself (Madsen, 16).

Relationships between *compadres* are warm and friendly, but formal and dignified. One never gossips about his *compadres* nor does he tease or joke with them (Clark, 8; Madsen, 16). *Compadres* are considered as close as blood relatives, visit each other frequently, and have the right to call on each other for help and advice. Clark (8) believes that the *compadrazgo* relationship serves the three functions of formalizing and extending the kinship group, enhancing kinship ties in order to minimize antagonism and conflict, since those so related are expected to treat each other with respect and deference.

For the child, his ritual kinsmen, in addition to his nuclear family, constitute an extension of his security system (Rubel, 25). The relationship between a godparent and his godchild may be much like that which exists between uncle and nephew. *Padrinos* will also be chosen for a child at the time of his confirmation and the godparents of the child's confirmation are the next most important *compadres* of the child's parents. *Compadrazgo* relationships also may be established at weddings or other occasions, but these are not regarded as significant.

II. Inter-Familial and Extra-Familial Relationships

Rubel (25) concludes that one of the most important aspects of the ethos of the Spanish-speaking individuals in the community he studied is a fear of invidious sanctions of neighbors directed against one's family. The author comments that the people in the community he studied "...peer out from the security of their homes at a society which they view with distrust, suspicion, and apprehension...Only within his or her own home is the Mexican American in an environment in which he or she trustingly participates with others (p. 99)." Madsen (16) finds a similar phenomenon in his study. He notes that a proper relationship between experienced persons in the Spanish-speaking society must preserve the dignity and individuality of each. To question the beliefs of another is to belittle the other, and a person may also feel belittled when another questions his accomplishments or compares them with greater successes achieved by others. Madsen states that the most common way of belittling others is to attain greater material or social success than one's friends. To do so is dangerous, for it may arouse envy.

The Spanish-speaking regard envy to be so powerful an emotion that it is difficult or impossible to suppress, and envy may be aroused by success in almost any kind of activity (Madsen, 16). It may result in hostility toward the person or family envied. Thus, leveling mechanisms such as gossip and ridicule may be employed by the person envying against the objects of his envy. Since a successful individual expects to be envied, he may imagine that there is more hostility directed against him than actually exists. He may come to fear not only the envy of others, but their suspected greed, dishonesty, and treachery. Madsen states that the child, early in life, learns that he lives in a threatening and hostile universe, where the motives of others are open to suspicion. This fixation, believes Madsen, enhances the value of social distance, and teaches the Mexican American to keep his defenses high. It alerts the individual to see to it that the proper relationship of dignity and individuality is maintained between individuals. Polite social distance will preclude direct involvement in the affairs of others, and the educated person will display polish and courtesy *(urbanidad)* in his social relationships.

The *machismo* of the male demands that he represent his family with honor, especially since it may be open to the envy and the belittlement of others. In the world outside his family, he must tolerate no overt offense to his family's honor, which he will fight to defend (Madsen, 16). A man's first loyalty is to his family, and Rubel (25, p. 55) comments: "The strength to which a person is bound to his family so overshadows all other bonds in importance that it contributes to the atomistic nature of the neighborhood. Socially, each house stands alone, separated from all others."

III. Some Problems of Spanish-Speaking People

Social or cultural problems are relative things. A particular set of circumstances experienced by a group of people is likely to raise problems only when set against a different, but not necessarily better, set of circumstances. When reviewing the literature that discusses the problems that Spanish-speaking people encounter, the only reasonable conclusion is that these problems largely arise because circumstances, values, and standards that guide the lives of individuals in the smaller, or minority, group are viewed in the light of the circumstances, values, and standards that guide the lives of individuals in the larger, or dominant group. Heller (12, p. 34) says: "The kind of socialization that Mexican American children receive at home is not conducive to the development of the capacities needed for advancement in a dynamic industrialized society." Thus, a large number of the problems Spanish-speaking people face may exist in relation to function within the "dynamic industrialized society" of the dominant group. Heffernan (11) sees eight specific problems: (1) low level of aspiration on the part of Mexican American students which results in failure to achieve commensurate with ability; (2) lack of parental aspiration and support of educational effort; (3) economic insecurity; (4) lack of feeling of belonging to the peer group; (5) inadequate facility in the use of the English language; (6) failure to recognize education as an avenue of social and vocational mobility; (7) differences in cultural values between the Mexican American culture and the culture of the dominant group; (8) low community standards. Manuel (17) sees four specific problem areas: (1) division of communities into contrasting groups, each with a lack of understanding of the other; (2) differences in culture which tend to perpetuate the isolation of one group from the other; (3) difficulty in language, the Spanish-speaking child typically having to learn English as a second language; (4) privations of low family income. The following is a review of some of the major problems identified by the literature.

Spatial Separateness

Mexican Americans tend to live together in one section of town. In smaller towns, this section is often set apart from other residential sections by a railroad track, a highway, or a river (Kibbe, 10, Section 1). Such a section is known as a *colonia* or *barrio*. Burma (3) defines the *colonia* as "a satellite community, separated from the parent community by psychic and social isolation, with definite if unverbalized barriers between it and the parent community." Generally, the Spanish-speaking group will occupy buildings in the older and more neglected parts of town, where rent and ownership costs are low and community services and facilities are at a minimum (Saunders, 29). While the dwelling types for urban Spanish-speaking people vary considerably, probably the most common is the small two or three room house, which typically may be in a state of partial disrepair. Streets in the *colonia* are less likely to be paved than in the Anglo sections, and alleys may serve the functions of streets (Burma, 3).

A number of reasons have been offered to explain Mexican American residential segregation. Kibbe (10, Section 1) believes that this spatial separation is due in part to the fact that the Spanish-speaking are a gregarious people and like to live close to one another. Another factor is the language handicap which makes it more convenient to live near those who speak the same tongue. However, Kibbe says that often the Spanish-speaking are not permitted to rent or own property anywhere except in the "Mexican Colony" regardless of their social, educational, or economic status. On the other hand, Clark (8) believes that the spatial separation is less the result of Anglo discriminatory policies than of poverty. Saunders (29) believes that in some areas spatial separateness is the result of Anglo descriminatory policies, but that in other areas it results from the concentration of a Spanish-speaking peoples in certain types of occupations. Saunders believes, however, that this separation is mostly a manifestation of the free choice of the Spanish-speaking – "free" within the limits of the fact that poor people in general have only a limited range of choice with respect to where they will live. In addition, he feels that the Spanish-speaking may find it more comfortable to live among people like themselves than among those who are, in many respects, culturally alien and possibly hostile.

In their study of residential segregation in 35 Southwestern cities, Moore and Mittelbach (19, Section 1) established an "index of residential dissimilarity" in which 0 meant that there was no segregation of a subpopulation from another (members of both populations were randomly distributed throughout the city), and a score of 100 meant that two populations were totally segregated (all members of each population were concentrated in separate areas). For the 35 cities studied, the mean index of dissimilarity for the Anglo-white versus the Spanish-surname population was 54.5, ranging from a low of 30 in Sacramento, California, to a high of 76 in Odessa, Texas. While Galveston, Texas, was found to have an index of 33.3; Austin, Texas, had an index of 63.3; San Antonio, an index of 63.6; and Houston, an index of 65.2. Intra-minority segregation of foreign-born and native-born persons of Spanish-surname ranged from a low of 9 in Austin, Texas, to a high of 50 in Colorado Springs, Colorado. The index was 14 for Houston and 17 for San Antonio.

The cultural factor most highly correlated with the segregation of Mexican Americans from Anglos was found to be large households, indicating traditional familial characteristics. This factor was found to be correlated with income. In other words, when large proportions of Mexican Americans begin to have small families, they tend to become residentially integrated with Anglos. The direct economic factor (ratio of each minority to total median income) was found to be the least important in the segregation of Mexican Americans from Anglos. Demographically, the size of the city was found to be very significant in the segregation of Mexican Americans from Anglos – the larger the city the greater the segregation.

Stereotypes and Discrimination

There is evidence that both Anglos and Mexican Americans hold notions of the other group which amount to stereotypes. In his study in South Texas, Madsen (16) finds that the two ethnic groups are keenly aware of the differences that divide them, and that feelings of resentment issue from a mutual lack of understanding. Each group believes that the other does not behave properly, and each feels superior in some respects. Clark (8), writing in California, finds that Anglos, on the whole, know little about Mexican American customs and values, speak no Spanish, and share many popular misconceptions concerning the Mexican American people. Burma (3) states that few Anglos know anything of what goes on inside the *barrio*, and that this ignorance makes possible the belief of inaccuracies, misinformation, and contradiction.

In his study of a community in South Texas, Simmons (31) noted the existence of a dual morality in the notions Anglos held of Mexican Americans. On the one hand, they expressed the belief that Mexican Americans should be accorded full acceptance and equal status in the larger society, because this is the "American creed." On the other hand, regardless of whether or not they expressed this ideal, they also expressed the contrasting assumption that Mexican Americans are inferior. They admitted the existence of a "high type" of Mexican American characterized by occupational achievement, wealth, and command of Anglo American ways. Simmons encountered notions of the Mexican Americans which characterized that group as indolent, improvident, irresponsible, childlike, undependable, unclean, and immoral. Both Madsen (16) and Burma (3) have noted the existence of similar stereotypes.

Simmons (31) found that adherence to a number of these stereotyped beliefs justified practices of exclusion and subordination in the community he studied. He feels, however, that Anglos often base their conclusions on what they observe in common labor situations. Many Mexican Americans work as field hands or work in packing sheds, and this is never clean work. He further feels that the strong sense of loyalty and obligation that Mexican Americans evidence in their interpersonal and familial relationships indicates that a charge of immorality is baseless. He attributes the hostility that some Anglos allege on the part of Mexican Americans to a projection of the Anglo American's own feelings.

Saunders (29) also feels that few if any of these stereotyped generalizations are valid, and that none of them are demonstrably due to any genetic inheritance, as many of these beliefs imply. Like Simmons, Saunders feels that many of these stereotyped beliefs are based on observable behavior traits that are characteristic of some members of the Spanish-speaking group in some situations. Observers may tend to evaluate behavior and approve or disapprove it on the basis of their ideas of what kind of behavior is appropriate in the observed situation. They fail to take into account that the persons being observed may have dissimilar ideas about proper behavior due to their participation in another culture. From their standpoint, they may be acting in accordance with these ideas. But, continues Saunders, stereotypes have the merit, for those who accept them, of providing easily understandable reasons for the status and the behavior of Spanish-speaking persons. They may provide an easy rationalization for maintaining the status quo, and make unnecessary any attempts to improve conditions for the Spanish-speaking group.

But Clark (8) states that Anglos have no monopoly on misconcept and group prejudice. Simmons (31) finds that Mexican Americans also have stereotyped images of Anglos. Mexican Americans conceive of Anglos as belonging to one or two types. One type is unprejudiced, friendly, warm, and just, but these are the minority. Most Anglos are braggarts, conceited, inconstant, insincere, mercenary, exploitative, and unkind. Madsen (16) notes similar stereotypes. Simmons (31) finds that these stereotypes reflect Anglo American stereotype patterns of exclusion as experienced by the Mexican Americans.

However, Simmons notes that since Anglos are dominant in society and monopolize its accomplishments and rewards, their belief that Mexican Americans are inferior may cause the Mexican Americans also to believe that they are inferior. There is a tendency to concede the superiority of Anglo ways, and, while Mexican Americans may impute hostility to Anglos, they do not impute inferiority to the dominant group. Perhaps this may be seen in part as a reflection of the self-fulfilling prophecy.

Through a wide-spread acceptance of a false assumption that one is inherently inferior, the person caught up in the self-fulfilling prophecy comes to desire to fulfill what is expected of him, and the false concept passes from generation to generation (Naegele, 20). This is apparently the view of Parsons (Brickman, 2) who investigated school bias toward Mexican Americans. Sociometric tests indicated to him that Mexican American children come to share the view of themselves held up to them by the Anglos. Being constantly told that they are inferior, they begin to behave in that pattern.

However, Carter (6) finds that the results of his study do not support the belief that Mexican American youngsters see themselves more negatively than Anglo students see themselves. Junior high school and senior high school students were asked to rate themselves on a five-point scale containing four sets of differentials: intelligence, goodness, happiness, and power. Twenty-one percent of the Mexican American students rated themselves on the good side of the good-bad differential, while only 13 percent of the Anglo students did so. The Mexican Americans also saw themselves as more wise than the Anglos, although they saw themselves as a little less happy than the Anglos. Carter notes, however, that the area he studied is rural and agricultural, and that different results may be obtained in an urban and industrial setting.

Burma (3) indicates five reasons why there may be discrimination against Mexican Americans. First, he feels that color may enter somewhat into the discrimination, for Mexican Americans are often darker than the Anglo population, and darkness of skin was considered a sign of inferiority long before Mexicans came upon the scene in great numbers. Second, they are predominantly poor, and thus suffer from a class discrimination. Third, their culture is different, and may be looked upon as inferior. Fourth, they are mainly Catholics in a predominantly Protestant country. Fifth, they speak a different language, and when it is used in public, Anglos may feel excluded, or fear insult.

Concerning Burma's first point, it is interesting to note that Moore and Mittelbach (19, Section 1) found in their study that whenever there are relatively few Mexican Americans in comparison with Negroes, segregation of either group from Anglos may be accentuated. Mexican Americans may suffer from being classified with the Negro minority, since discrimination against Negroes may become diffused to encompass Mexican Americans. Each minority seems to affect the other's chances for movement in the system. Burma's second point, that of class, is especially interesting. Heller (12) claims that analysis of the 1960 Census data shows the Mexican Americans to be an unusually homogeneous ethnic group, generally ranking very low as measured by standard socio-economic characteristics. Rubel (25) says that the ethnographic evidence reveals the lack of clearly defined social classes among the Mexican Americans. In his study, Burma (3) finds two classes, lower and middle, but notes that to the Mexican Americans there are three classes, since the Mexican Americans may divide the group that the Anglos consider the "middle" class into a "middle" and an "upper" class.

Clark (8) accepts four social classes: the high society, the middle class, the lower class, and the braceros. Madsen (16) distinguishes five class levels among the Mexican Americans: the lower-lower class, the upper-lower class, the lower-middle class, the upper-middle class, and the upper class. However, no matter how finely a particular investigator may wish to discriminate between various class levels within the Mexican American population, the 1960 Census data reveal that a large number of Mexican Americans are poor, and would fit, at least in socio-economic terms, into a lower class. Saunders (3) believes that much of the so-called problem behavior that Anglos note among Mexican Americans derives from the culture of a lower class rather than from an Hispano cultural heritage or the fact that these people are Spanish-speaking. Lower-class Anglos tend to behave in much the same way as do Mexican Americans when viewed through the notions of popular stereotypes. Saunders believes that attention should be focused on social class differences rather than on ethnic differences.

Cultural Differences and Differences in Value Orientations

The Spanish-speaking hold views of life which are characteristics of their culture and which are different in certain respects from the views held by Anglos. Luna (15) believes that Mexican Americans have not fully accepted Anglo values relating to time, change, success, efficiency, education, and modes of communication. Edmondson (10) holds that there are six general value orientations that stand out in the culture of the Spanish-speaking with some degree of clarity: traditionalism, familism, paternalism, personalism, dramatism, and fatalism. Familism and paternalism, both traditional values of the Mexican American culture, extend throughout the culture and furnish organizational models for relationships outside the sphere of kinship. A man's position and prestige is largely dependent upon his basic qualification as head of a household, and the familistic orientation may help to explain the quasi-parental authority of older over younger siblings. Feminine roles are orientated to the primary familistic roles. The concept of friendship on the kinship model illustrates the familistic tendency, since extended use may be made of the terms *primo* or *compadre* when speaking to friends. Paternalism is seen in the superordination of the male sex, and in the relationship of older brothers to younger ones. Edmondson sees these values as being in contrast with Anglo values, for where the Spanish-speaking may emphasize traditionalism, the Anglo culture tends to emphasize progress and change; where the culture of the Spanish-speaking is paternalistic, that of the Anglos is egalitarian; where the culture of the Spanish-speaking values familism, that of the Anglo emphasizes individualism.

The Spanish-speaking do emphasize individuality, but in a manner different from the way in which Anglos emphasize it (Edmondson, 10). While Anglos emphasize individual initiative, it is a socialized initiative calling for self-expression within certain limits. The Spanish-speaking individual may transcend these limits, and, emphasizing the element of personalism, place loyalty on an individual basis. The Spanish-speaking individual is, first, himself and second, a social entity. Kluckhohn (14) found much the same thing in her study. She found that among the Spanish-speaking the individualistic principle (in which individual goals have primacy over the goals of specific collateral or lineal groups) ranked slightly higher than the lineal principle (in which group goals have primacy).

Rubel (25) sees this emphasis on personalism as affecting the political activity of Mexican Americans. He holds that the importance of personalism in elections is a converse of the absence of special-interest groups organized to exert pressure for group advantage. The Spanish-speaking are likely to vote for the candidate who seems most likely to respond favorably to instrumental activities characterized by personalism. Personal relationships tend to take the place of abstract applications of principles (Edmondson, 10). Again, where the Spanish-speaking culture is personalistic, the Anglo culture values a group orientation and abstract morality.

The attitude toward fatalism marks a distinction between the culture of the Spanish-speaking and the culture of the Anglo. Madsen (16) states that it is generally believed that the fortune of the individual is predestined, and that every occurrence in human existence comes to pass because it was fated to do so. Kluckhohn (14) found that the Spanish-speaking group she studied was orientated toward a Subjugated-to-Nature position (in which the inevitable is accepted) rather than a Mastery-over-Nature position (in which natural forces are to be overcome and put to use for the benefit of human beings). To the Anglo, the environment is something to be manipulated and changed to suit his needs; the Spanish-speaking person, on the other hand, is likely to meet difficulties by adjusting to them rather than by attempting to overcome them (Saunders, 29).

This fatalism, according to Edmondson (10), may manifest itself in a number of ways. In language, the Spanish-speaking typically use the impersonal passive reflexive form of verbs where the English-speaking would use the active voice with a definite agent. The Spanish-speaking will say "It broke itself" (se rompio) or "It lost itself" (se perdio) instead of "I broke it" or "I lost it." Through this usage the speaker appears as the helpless object to whom things happen, rather than the master of his fate with an active part in his own destiny. Fatalism may manifest itself in politics. The Spanish-speaking do not tend to view politics as an arena in which moral and ethical values take place for the building of a progressively better world. Corruption in politics may be viewed as inevitable, and political and administrative justice may be viewed as accessible only through friends and relatives. Fatalism does manifest itself in religion. Madsen (16) states that most Mexican Americans believe that fate is a mechanism of God's will.

The concept of fatalism is strongly tied with the Mexican American's concept of time. Since God, rather than man, is seen as controlling events, Mexican Americans lack the future orientation of the Anglo and his passion for planning ahead (Madsen, 16). Kluckhohn (14) found that the Spanish-speaking prefer a present alternative (in which there is little concern with the past, and the future is regarded as vague and unpredictable) to a future alternative (in which the future is anticipated to be "bigger and better" and in which a high evaluation is placed on change). Saunders (29) points out that the Anglos are very much preoccupied with time. They consult watches and calendars frequently. The present is not important for itself, but for the opportunities it affords to engage in activities that can affect the future. Activities are not seen as ends in themselves, but rather as means to ends, the attainment of which lies somewhere in the future.

The Mexican American, on the other hand, feels that the present cannot be ignored (Saunders,29). He does not look upon the future with vision, nor does he brood over the past. God plans the future, and many Mexican Americans would consider it presumptive for a man to plan for tomorrow (Madsen, 16). The Mexican American is dedicated to living the moment to its fullest extent in the roles he finds assigned to him by God.

These concepts of fatalism and of time are related to concepts concerning change, efficiency, and desirable types of activity. Saunders (29) contends that newness among the Anglos has come to be valued for its own sake. New things are attractive because they are thought to be better somehow than the old, and the notion of progress becomes associated with the fact of change. Saunders believes that there probably is nothing that the Anglo more completely accepts than the notion that change is good and progress inevitable. But to the Spanish-speaking, the future is uncertain, and, in any event, is not of his making. Uncertainty, and perhaps danger, comes with the new, the unfamiliar, the untried. Simmons (31) says that Mexican Americans will accept new ways, but only if the new ways appear more meaningful and rewarding than the old.

Allied to the Anglo notion of progress and change, is the Anglo concept of efficiency. Anglos like to keep busy – they are doers (Saunders, 29). As a group, they see industriousness as a virtue. Work is a value in itself, and if it has any meaning beyond itself, it is that it is a road to success. Idleness is considered to be very close to sinfulness, and every moment of time must be utilized, for "time is money." To the Spanish-speaking, however, work is simply the lot of man–a necessary burden (Heller,12). The belief of the Spanish-speaking that a day's work is only a day's work, whether performed now or at a later time, is in direct conflict with the Anglo premise that time and money are interchangeable. The Spanish-speaking feel that the ceaseless push for advancement has fettered the Anglo's integrity and intellectual ability (Madsen, 16). The Spanish-speaking home stresses the notion that inactivity and leisure are in themselves worthwhile goals (Heller,12).

Heller (12) notes that few Mexican American homes stress higher education or intellectual effort, and attributes this partly to the parents' belief that higher education is useless for their children, and may not result in achievement but rather may lead to frustration and humiliation. But Madsen (16) points out that the "educated" person in a Spanish-speaking home is one who has been well-trained as a social being. He displays polish and courtesy in his social relationships. Thus, informal education within the family is viewed as being more important than formal schooling. Whatever factor dominates in a given situation, achievement is not usually stressed in the Mexican American home, and Heller (12) sees this lack of emphasis upon "making good" in conventional terms as being consistent with the themes of fatalism and resignation that run through Mexican American culture.

These attitudes toward fate, time, and achievement on the part of the Mexican American are reflected in his choice of desirable activities. Kluckhohn (14) found that the Spanish-speaking in the group she studied favored a Being orientation rather than a Doing orientation in their choice of desirable activities. She defines the Being orientation as the preference for "the kind of activity which is a spontaneous expression of what is conceived to be 'given' in the human personality." She further states that this orientation might be phrased even as "a spontaneous expression in activity of impulses and desires . . . (p. 16)." Heller (12) notes that the Mexican American home does not tend to cultivate in children the ability to defer gratification, and sees this as a reflection of the Mexican American's present-time orientation. In contrast, the Doing orientation, characteristic of the Anglo culture, demands activities in which accomplishments result that are measurable by standards conceived to be external to the acting individual.

Edmondson (10) also has named dramatism as an outstanding value orientation of the Spanish-speaking. Madsen (16) points to the concepts of proper relations between individuals within the culture of the Spanish-speaking, and indicates that Mexican American social relationships are highly formalized and that life itself is seen as dramatic and ceremonial. Edmondson (10) points to the Spanish-speaking peoples' love of fiestas, and especially to religious ritual as evidence of the sense of dramatism. But if it is dramatism that may add attraction to religious ritual, then perhaps this source of dramatism is more attractive to the Mexican American woman than the Mexican American man, for the women have a better record of church attendance. While daughters will continue to attend church regularly throughout their lives, boys go less and less regularly after the age of 13 (Madsen, 16). Madsen indicates that male attendance at church seems to increase with vertical social mobility.

He also believes that Protestantism holds appeal for those members of the Mexican American middle class who are seeking closer identification with Anglo ways of life. Burma (3), it may be recalled, believes that one reason discrimination may be leveled against Mexican Americans is that they are Catholic in a predominantly Protestant country. But in their study of social mobility among Mexican Americans, Penalosa and McDonagh (21) found that Catholics were more upwardly mobile than Protestants, giving no support to the belief that retaining Catholicism hinders upward mobility.

In addition to the differing value orientations mentioned, there is a body of literature that discusses differing medical concepts held by Mexican Americans. Such studies are offered by Saunders (29), Clark (8), Madsen (16), and Rubel (24, 25). Clark (8) believes that medical systems are affected by most major categories of culture, and Rubel (25) believes that by focusing attention on topics of illness and health one can discover a new vantage point from which to view the social system and the emotional qualities that are found within it.

The folk theories of medical disorders found among the Mexican Americans are based on a hot and cold theory of balanced relationships. This theory is derived from the Hippocratic theory of pathology, which postulated that a human body in the state of health contained balanced qualities of the four "humors" (phlegm, blood, black bile, and yellow bile), some of which were thought to be innately hot and others innately cold. If the hot and cold body essences became disproportionate, the body became ill (Clark, 8). This belief is a legacy from colonial Mexico where the Spaniards introduced the system in the 16th Century. In the Mexican American folk concepts of disease, largely based upon this notion of hot and cold imbalance, diseases are generally classified in two major categories: first, there are the "natural" illnesses *(mal natural)* which come from violating the balance of the natural world controlled by God. These may be corrected by restoring the balance that was disrupted. Second, there are the "unnatural" diseases *(mal puesto)* which result from bewitchments sent by human adversaries. These may be cured by countermagic or by removing the immediate source of harm (Madsen, 16). Mild sicknesses may be treated at home by the mother or other female relatives having a knowledge of folk medicine. Severe illnesses may be referred to *curanderos,* or folk healers.

Certainly Mexican Americans accept many "scientific" Anglo medical beliefs, and Clark (8) points out that the number of scientific medical disorders familiar to the Spanish-speaking is constantly increasing as they have more and more contact with the English-speaking community and those in the Spanish-speaking community who are conversant with Anglo medical terminology. However, there appears to exist among the Spanish-speaking a number of diseases whose etiology and treatment differ markedly from Anglo concepts. A number of these diseases are of special interest because they may affect children.

Fallen fontanel, or *caida de la mollera,* probably is the most common ailment of infancy, and occurs in children under three years of age (Madsen, 16 and Rubel, 25). The concept of balance again is important here, for the fontanel and the palate are believed to be correlated so that the imbalance of one affects the other. Jarring the baby must be avoided since a fall or a jolt can dislodge the fontanel causing it to collapse. It is recognized by such symptoms as excessive crying, insomnia, digestive upsets, loss of appetite, and possibly fever. Treatment may consist of gently pushing upward on the palate while cradling the child or while holding the child upside down on the theory that gravity will help to push the fontanel back in place. Gently sucking the baby's fontanel may also be employed.

Mal ojo, or evil eye sickness, unintentionally may be inflicted by a person who possesses "strong vision." Such persons are conceived to have a strong power over weaker individuals, and the seat of this power is his visual apparatus. Covetous glances or excessive attention paid one person by another expose the individuals involved to the dangers of an unnatural bond in which the weaker is drained of his will to act and the power of the stronger enters his body (Madsen, 16; Rubel, 25). While anyone may be susceptible to *mal ojo,* women and children are expecially likely to succumb due to their weaker nature. Symptoms may consist of severe headaches, fretfulness, high temperatures, and, in the case of children, inconsolable weeping (Rubel, 25). Because the power of the stronger individual is beyond his control, he is considered guiltless unless he refuses to break the bond. He may do this by simply passing a hand over the victim's forehead, or patting the victim about the temples. If the illness is allowed to progress, however, it is potentially fatal, the last stage of the illness being a violent coughing fit. A common treatment consists of rubbing the patient's body with an unbroken raw egg in order to draw out the evil force (Madsen, 16). The egg may then be broken and poured into a glass of water. The formations of the egg in the water can indicate whether the diagnosis was correct and the cure successful. The glass containing the egg mixture may be left under the patient's bed for a night in order to remove any remaining sickness.

Rubel (25) notes that in the illness of *mal ojo,* social relationships are conceptualized as being inherent dangers to the equilibrium of the individual. Madsen (16) believes that the evil eye is, to some extent, a reflection of envy. Unconscious hostility may also be expressed in attributing strong vision to another person, and desired avoidance may be rationalized on the grounds that the individual possesses the evil eye. Thus, concepts of social relationships seem to be reflected in this concept of disease.

Empacho, a form of indigestion, also may affect a child. A ball of undigested food is believed to form on the wall of the stomach, which blocks the normal digestive processes (Madsen, 16; Rubel, 25). It may be caused by a severe emotional experience, or by requiring the individual to eat against his will; that is, the individual is placed in a situation of conflict and stress. While it is potentially fatal due to dessication, it is easily treated. The back of the patient may be carefully stroked and kneaded along the spinal column and around the waist. A penetrant may also be administered in order to break up the ball that has formed.

Children also may suffer from *asustado,* or fright sickness, although it is more often associated with adulthood (Madsen, 16). In this disease, a part of the self, the *espiritu,* may leave the body. The precipitating experience may be one in which the victim cannot cope with circumstances, even though he wants to do so. It is often of a frightening nature (Rubel, 25). The symptoms may be exhaustion, restlessness, and loss of appetite (Madsen, 16). Effort is devoted to coaxing the soul of the patient back into his body during curing. This may be accompanied by a sweeping motion with some instrument such as a tree branch or a broom.

If a disease reaches a more serious stage or fails to respond to treatment by a female member of the family, the family may seek the help of a *curandero,* or folk healer, rather than a medical doctor. There are a number of reasons for this. Clark (8) believes that Mexican Americans may resent the authoritative stance of the Anglo physician, his objective approach, and his quick, impersonal, efficient examination. Rubel (25) believes that there is a communication gap between Mexican American patients and Anglo doctors, since Mexican American patients often do not understand the medical terminology used by Anglo doctors. He also believes that Mexican Americans resent the Anglo doctor's fee-for-service arrangements, believing that the doctor practices to enrich himself while the lay healer practices to help people.

Also, Anglo doctors are ignorant of entire sectors of the health concepts Mexican American patients may hold. Mexican Americans, notes Clark (8), expect a curer to reassure them, to show that he sympathizes with them and cares what happens to them. A folk healer may do these very things where an Anglo doctor may not, and Madsen (16) notes that several cases of mental illness that previously failed to respond to psychiatric treatment have been cured by *curanderos*. He feels that many *curanderos* are unrecognized by highly skilled social workers. However, Rubel (25) believes that to the Mexican American the individual who cures is less important than whether the healing has been successful: "The cure is the thing."

At least one study has been made of mental health problems among Mexican Americans in an urban community (Crawford, 9). Four samples were surveyed to determine the nature and incidence of mental health problems. One sample consisted of 24 selected children from a larger sample of 399 first grade children. The smaller sample was divided into a group described by teachers as "having no problems of school adjustment" and a group considered to represent varying types and degrees of school adjustment problems. The parents of the "no problem" group shared responsibility for their children more equally than did parents of the "problem" children who were father-dominated. Parents of "no problem" children used many different types of discipline, and employed little physical punishment. Parents of "problem" children showed less diversity in the kinds of action used to discipline, and used physical punishment more frequently. Families of the "no problem" children were not disturbed by influences exerted by relatives, while families of the "problem" children reported friction with the "wife's relatives." Mothers of the "no problem" children reported very few contacts of any sort with neighbors, while mothers of the "problem" children reported intensive contacts with neighbors, often of a conflicting nature. The "problem" children were in most instances "roamers" who played all over the neighborhood without supervision. Generally, the families of the "no problem" children had a more cohesive nature, maintained strong family ties, and were acceptably orientated toward relatives. Families with "problem" children were less integrated, experienced friction with relatives, and relied upon neighbors for many social contacts.

Clark (8) points out, though, that life to the Mexican American is full of countless pains and traumas. Suffering is the lot of the Spanish-speaking, and must be borne with courage and dignity. Not wishing to be thought "inferior," the Mexican American does not readily succumb to illness. The adult must be stoic. Children, however, are less frequently expected to ignore their physical symptoms, and the younger the child, the less stoic he is expected to be. But some of the adult emphasis on strength and stoicism may carry over into attitudes toward sick children, and children may often be sent to school with colds, ear infections, or other difficulties. They may be expected to carry on their normal activities until the disease becomes incapacitating.

The Language Difference and the School Experience

The fact that the Mexican American's primary language is usually Spanish may cause complex social problems for the Mexican American child when he enters school. The Mexican American child may know very little English when he enters school, and Madsen (16) sees the language problem faced by Mexican American children as serious.

The linguistic problems of Spanish-speaking individuals who also speak English are several. A number of writers seem to agree that the patterns of speech and thought inculcated by the use of the primary language, Spanish, interfere with the correct speaking of English. Chavez (7) mentions differences in sounds and in concepts between the two languages. For instance, the short *i* in *miss* may be pronounced by the Spanish-speaker as the *ee* in *meet*, since *i* carries the sound of *ee* in Spanish. Similarly, the *sh* of the English word *show* may be pronounced by the native Spanish-speaker as the *ch* in the English word *church.* In addition, a difference in concepts between the two languages may cause the listener to note a difference even when no accent is present. In Spanish, some words are plural, but their English counterparts are singular, such as the word nose. In speaking English, the Spanish-speaker may say, "I hit them against the door." Or, the native speaker of Spanish may utilize direct translations of Spanish phrases when speaking English, producing such phrases as *peach bones* for peach pits and *train houses* for train cars. Nor is it without significance, holds Saunders (29), that in English a clock runs, but in Spanish a clock *walks.* This may be seen as one example of the way in which differing value orientations are reflected in speech.

Beberfall (1) mentions hypercorrection, omission of the final consonant, and the use of the future tense as language problems. Hypercorrection occurs when the Spanish-speaking individual makes a linguistic correction that extends into other areas where it is not needed. Thus, correcting the *i* of *miss* and the *sh* of *show*, the individual may extend his correction to such words as *chief*, producing instead *chiff*, and *church*, producing instead *shursh*. Omitting a final consonant in Spanish seldom is likely to affect the meaning of a word, but it may cause difficulty in English. When speaking English, the Spanish-speaker may say, "I hope it *rain* today." Then, too, the present tense is often used in Spanish where English will call for the future tense. Thus, the Spanish-speaker, employing his native language habits, may say, "I *see* you tomorrow."

Perales (22) mentions three problem areas the Spanish-speaking individual may face when speaking his own language: limited Spanish vocabulary that requires borrowing from an equally limited English vocabulary to complete his expressions; the use of *pochismos,* English words given a Spanish pronunciation and meaning; and errors in pronunciation and enunciation. Regarding the first problem area, students may use such expressions as "yo le dije que I wouldn't do it" (I said to him that I wouldn't do it) and "El fue, but I stayed in la casa" (He went, but I stayed in the house). Holland (13) explains this linguistic borrowing in this manner: due to their environment, Mexican American children develop only a small basic vocabulary of Spanish words and concepts which are directly related to restrictive in-group experiences.

Their first year in school brings them into contact with words and concepts in English for which they have no comparable terms in Spanish. They then have no alternative but to introduce English into their conversations when they need to use a concept which they have learned exclusively in contact with the English-speaking environment. Their typical speech patterns often become a complex mixture of both languages. Holland believes, therefore, that these children cannot really be thought of as fully bilingual, but rather that they are substandard or partial speakers of two languages. Their particular type of bilingualism interferes with the more thorough learning of either language and the result is that they may have fewer complex language symbols at their command than their Anglo classmates. The NEA-Tuscon Survey group (19) also comments that even if the child speaks both English and Spanish, he may be only nominally bilingual, not truly so, having a low level of literacy in both languages. He watches television and listens to the radio. He is soon speaking a language which is neither Spanish nor English, but rather a mixture of the two.

Concerning the second problem area cited by Perales (22), the native speaker of Spanish in an English-speaking environment may give an English word a Spanish pronunciation and meaning when speaking his own native language. For instance, the Spanish-speaker may use the word *huachar* (from the English verb *to watch*) instead of the correct Spanish verb *mirar,* or *chuzar* (from the English verb *to choose*) instead of the correct Spanish word *escoger.* The Spanish-speaking student in an English environment also may be hampered by lack of correct pronunciation of his own native language. For instance, he may say "Nos juimos con eos" for "Nos fuimos con ellos."

The NEA-Tuscon Survey group (19) indicates that the Mexican American comes to school knowing some English, but has used it infrequently. The language of his first years of childhood has been Spanish, and his personality and experiences have been shaped by it. Yet the language of instruction is English, and, when the child enters school, he finds himself in a strange and threatening environment. This survey group comments:

> *. . . He (the Spanish-speaking child) suddenly finds himself not only with the pressing need to master an (to him) alien tongue, but also at the same time, to make immediate use of it in order to function as a pupil. His*

> *parents, to whom he has always looked for protection and aid, can be of no help at all to him in his perplexity. Moreover, as a result of cultural and economic differences between the English-speaking and the Spanish-speaking segments of his community, many of the objects, social relationships and cultural attitudes presented to him in lessons, though perfectly familiar to an Anglo youngster, lie without the Latin American's home experience. Accordingly, the problem of learning English is, for him, enormously increased by his unfamiliarity with what objects and situations the no less unfamiliar words and phrases stand for (pp. 8-9).*

Sanchez (28) also comments on this problem:

> *Imagine the Spanish-speaking child's introduction to American Education! He comes to school, not only without a word of English but without the environmental experience upon which school life is based. He cannot speak to the teacher and is unable to understand what goes on about him in the classroom. He finally submits to rote learning, parroting words and processes in self-defense. To him, school life is artificial. He submits to it during class hours, only partially digesting the information which the teacher has tried to impart. Of course he learns English and the school subjects imperfectly! (pp. 31-32).*

Heller (12) points out that until the late Forties, Mexican American children were segregated formally in separate buildings or separate schools from the time of their first arrival. This was largely based on the rationalization that these children knew little or no English on entering school, and could not compete on an equal basis with Anglo American children. Therefore, it was best for both groups to be separated. In 1947, in California, the courts decided, in the *Mendez* case, that enforced segregation violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution. A similar decision was rendered in Texas in 1948, in the *Delgado* case. These cases and their implications are reviewed by Sanchez (27), who points out among other things that Spanish-speaking children seem to learn English best and most quickly when they participate in mixed classes with English-speaking students. However, Heller feels that today the schools are still largely segregated on a *de facto* basis, since the schools attended by the Mexican Americans are in the poorest areas. The existence of *de facto* segregation also appears to be the view of the NEA-Tuscon Survey group (19).

The Spanish-speaking child also encounters psychological barriers related to linguistic barriers when first entering school, according to the NEA-Tuscon Survey group (19). Being suddenly immersed in English at six years of age in an environment lacking the plasticity and warmth of human relationships found in the home may create within the Spanish-speaking child psychological barriers that may not disappear for a lifetime. The teacher may sense these barriers and erect his own in an attempt to compensate for a sense of inadequacy in dealing with the child. The Spanish language may then become a refuge into which the child may retreat at every opportunity. The Survey group sees the Mexican American child as also encountering a different set of cultural patterns than those he has learned at home, an accelerated tempo of living, and possibly a teacher, who, although sincere, has little understanding of the culture, beliefs, and sensitivities of the Spanish-speaking. Heller (12) sees such lack of knowledge as making it more difficult for teachers to instruct Mexican American children, and to proceed in a way that would make it easier for the children to identify with the teacher.

The Mexican American may encounter at school the additional confusion of being forbidden to speak Spanish both in the classrooms and on the playground. Students may even be punished for lapsing into Spanish, according to the NEA-Tuscon Survey group (19). This group sees this prohibition against the speaking of Spanish as breeding withdrawal and damaging the Mexican American's self-image. Language is an intimate part of culture. Of language, Saunders (29) says:

> *. . . Language enables us to make sense out of reality. It provides for each of us a way of isolating, categorizing, and relating phenomena without which experience could only be a confused succession of sensations and impressions. Our perceptions, to the extent that they represent anything more than crude sensation, are organized around concepts, each of which is represented by one or more verbal symbols. What a person "sees," the meaning it has for him, and how it is related to other phenomena are determined by the concepts he has, and these in turn are learned from the social groups into which he was born and with which he lives (p. 116).*

Concerning the prohibition against the speaking of Spanish by Mexican American children in the schools, the NEA-Tuscon Survey group (19) comments:

> *. . . In telling him that he must not speak his native language, we are saying to him by implication that Spanish and the culture which it represents are of no worth. Therefore (it follows again) this particular child is of no worth. It should come as no surprise to us, then, that he develops a negative self-concept – an inferiority complex (p. 11).*

Various writers comment upon the results of these linguistic and psychological barriers that the Mexican American child meets when first entering school at age six. Holland (13) devised a special administration of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children which yielded an English Verbal IQ and a Bilingual Verbal IQ. In testing 36 Spanish-speaking children ranging from the first grade level through grade five, credit for an English response was given when a correct answer in English was given to a question stated in that language. Credit for a bilingual response was given if the testing situation had to be supplemented with Spanish, which was done only when the instructions were not understood or were only partially understood in English. The difference between the two types of IQs obtained by the system was called the *language barrier,* whose size, Holland claimed, is directly related to a student's difficulty in classroom achievement. The subjects were found to have an average language barrier of 4 to 6 IQ points per student. The English Verbal IQ, it should be noted, was conceived to be indicative of the subject's present level of functioning in English language skills, while the Bilingual Verbal IQ was conceived to be indicative of the subject's future potential for verbal skills when his knowledge of English might become approximately equal to his knowledge of Spanish. Holland further found that this *language barrier* was most evident at the first grade level and diminished with each successive year of schooling, but that it was still present among fifth grade students. He concludes that these children have learned enough English by the fifth grade to compete with their Anglo classmates, but by this time they are unable to "catch up" and the classroom becomes more bewildering.

Heller (12), on the other hand, believes that a number of studies have shown that Mexican American children tend to start out on much the same level as Anglo children, both in IQ scores and scholastic achievement. Yet, pointing to one of her own studies of Mexican American high school seniors in Los Angeles, she notes that after 11 years of schooling their IQ distribution curve did not correspond to the normal IQ curve. Almost half of the Mexican American students, in contrast to 13 percent of the Anglo American students, were below average in IQ. Manuel (17) cites W. H. Sinninger of New Mexico Highlands University as saying that Spanish American pupils are up to or near the national norms in achievement in the primary grades, but that they start dropping below the norms in the fourth grade and lose ground in each of the succeeding grades. According to Sinninger, this drop is the result of inadequate meanings and vocabularies. Work in the primary grades is mechanical and concerned with developing a sight vocabulary and word recognition skills, which do not call for the word power demanded in the higher grades.

La Raza and Acculturation

Heller (12) notes that people of Mexican descent, as well as those born in Mexico, identify themselves with pride as members of La Raza (the Race), which is united by esoteric bonds of blood and custom. "La Raza groups together all those in the world who speak Spanish; it implies both a mystical bond uniting Spanish-speaking people and a separation of them from all others (Rubel, 25, p. 7)." It is the maintenance of this "racial" identification involving ties to language and custom, which seems to raise the problem of acculturation; that is, the absorption of the values of the dominant group by the minority group.

Perhaps one reason for the retarded acculturation of Mexican Americans is that they have maintained a rural, or folk, culture while the middle class culture of the United States is an urban culture (Naegele, 20). Clark (8) believes that what distinguishes a folk people from the more complex world in which they live is that they have a body of tradition passed orally from generation to generation which determines the pattern of their lives. Almost everyone conforms to it. Tradition sets the pattern, and it is seldom questioned. The child in such a society receives his education for life in the circle of the extended family, not in a school. Life may be hard, but it is stable. Things change slowly. Campa (5) also sees the conflict between the American urban culture and the folk culture of the Spanish-speaking as the main barrier to the acculturation of the Spanish-speaking community. He seems to feel that the folk culture has not yet evolved to the status of a complete society, and that this makes acculturation more difficult since there must be an approximation of cultural level between them. Clark (8) however, points out that a folk culture is not necessarily simpler than other types of cultures, and in some aspects actually may be infinitely more complex.

Saunders (29) sees four factors retarding acculturation. First, there is the proximity of Mexico. The enormous traffic that moves back and forth across the border each year provides continuing links between the Spanish-speaking people of the border states and of Mexico. Not only people move across the border, but also printed materials, material goods, and motion picture films. Radio programs in Spanish are received not only from across the border, but also from many Spanish-language stations within the border states. The need to learn English is lessened and the need to conform to Anglo ways is minimized when one lives surrounded by people who follow other ways and speak mainly Spanish. And, as Spanish-speaking people acquire the characteristics of the dominant society, their places tend to be taken by immigrants from Mexico who have few, if any, Anglo traits.

Second, segregation, which has been mentioned previously, retards acculturation. Saunders believes that spatial separation is both a cause and an effect of retarded acculturation. Separate communities will tend to minimize cross-cultural contacts. A lack of Anglo cultural traits will tend to create a continued awareness of differences and a continuation of the tendency to live apart.

Third, there seem to be relatively few persons in the Mexican American group able to provide models of success or effective leadership for any considerable part of the

Spanish-speaking population. Heller (12) notes that as persons of Mexican American descent advance substantially in the social scale, they tend to sever their relations with the Mexican American community. Social mobility, she says, has been synonymous with renunciation in the minds of many Mexican Americans. Burma (3) points out that leaders must have one characteristic in common to be successful: They must have the welfare of *La Raza* at heart. They must try always to help their people and not be ashamed of them. Penalosa and McDonagh (21) found in their study, however, that upwardly mobile Mexican Americans retained their Mexican ethnic identification. Heller (12), too, feels that the pattern is changing, and that Mexican Americans who have achieved prominence in various fields in recent years have not severed, but rather have stressed, their ties with the Mexican American community.

The fourth factor mentioned by Saunders (29) as retarding acculturation is an attitude of suspicion and mistrust which operates primarily against Anglos, but may also be directed by some Spanish-speaking individuals against others of their own group. These attitudes may undermine sincere efforts at organization and leadership from within the Spanish-speaking group, and may create an unwillingness to cooperate with Anglo individuals, agencies, or organizations in programs that are intended to benefit Spanish-speaking people.

However, Saunders (29) also points out four factors that promote acculturation. First, there is the size of the Spanish-speaking population. The smaller group, he believes, is certain to be attracted toward the ways of the larger group, especially since contacts with the larger group cannot be entirely avoided, and since adoption of Anglo ways may be psychologically or materially rewarding. Nonetheless, the Spanish-speaking population is a big minority group, and Naegele (20) believes that the larger the percentage of the minority in the total population the greater the time needed for assimilation to take place.

Saunders also sees urbanization as promoting acculturation. The shift from rural living to city living has tended to be disruptive of old ways and has brought new pressures. New family and community relationships have developed. More divorces occur, as do more marriages outside the group. New patterns in recreation have appeared, and increasingly the focus of attention of children is away from the home. Class divisions have grown sharper, and the group is no longer as homogeneous as it once was. Even though impersonal, contractual relationships which characterize urban life are unsatisfactory to many Spanish-speaking persons, they nonetheless must enter into them. In doing so, the Mexican American becomes increasingly at ease with them, loses part of his cultural heritage, and acquires a part of that of the Anglos.

Tied with increasing urbanization is increasing mobility, which Saunders names as the third factor promoting acculturation. The Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest move about more freely today in increasing numbers, and are able to change their social status within a lifetime. Wherever the Spanish-speaking person goes, Anglo culture tends to intrude, bringing changes which may not be welcome but which are inescapable.

Lastly, Saunders believes that education itself promotes acculturation. Spanish-speaking people are increasingly participating in formal education, and are thereby subjecting themselves and their children to a powerful acculturative experience. The schools expose Spanish-speaking children to Anglo concepts, ways, and values, and the child who finishes 8 or 12 grades of school has had an extended exposure to Anglo cultural elements, through the English language, the curricula they study, and the association with English-speaking students.

One may hypothesize that intermarriage with Anglos may also promote the process of acculturation. Believing that the study of intermarriage is also a study of "social distance," Mittelbach and Moore (18) have studied 7,492 marriage licenses issued in Los Angeles in 1963 which included all marriages in which one or both spouses carried a Spanish surname. They find that intermarriage with Anglos is increasing. Their study indicates that the third generation Mexican American, rather than the first or second generation Mexican American, is more likely to marry outside the ethnic group, and that Mexican American women are more likely to marry outside the ethnic group than men. The rate of marriages outside the ethnic group seems to increase with each generation, and a rise in social status for both men and women leads to favor marriages outside the Mexican American group. As Mexican Americans move into the middle class, they seem to select spouses in terms of class in addition to, or instead of, ethnic considerations, and this was most typical of the third generation. The author finds that the social distance between generations of Mexican Americans is even greater than the social distance between some Mexican Americans and Anglos. In addition, the third generation evidences less Catholic practice than does the second, and the third generation tends to marry younger than either the second or first generation. These patterns suggest to the authors the dim outline of an anti-traditionalist younger generation. However, Mexican Americans still tend to marry other Mexican Americans, and the authors do not see assimilation through intermarriage as imminent. Nonetheless, they do believe that the data raise serious questions about the perpetuation of the ethnic group and the "Mexican culture," at least in Los Angeles. Their findings do indicate a gradual assimilation of the Mexican American population, and indicate to the authors a growing dynamic change.

But the question remains of whether the Mexican American group wishes this "growing dynamic change," and to what degree they themselves may desire assimilation. The NEA-Tuscon Survey group (19) points out that the schools, reflecting the dominant view of the dominant culture, wish the Mexican American child to grow up as another Anglo. This the Mexican American child cannot do unless he tends to deny his family and his culture. Madsen (16) comments that in the school the Mexican American child hears the teachings of his parents contradicted, and is urged to behave in ways that may be uncomfortable for him. Simmons (31) comments that what the Mexican Americans advocate is a fusion of the two cultures in which the best of each would be retained. Manuel (17) believes that the development of a common culture which includes the best of both cultures and yet permits wide individual variations is a reasonable goal.

Naegele (20), on the other hand, believes that since Mexican American culture resists complete conformity to Anglo patterns, that it may be worthwhile to entertain the idea of a dual culture in which Mexican Americans may have the right to be themselves within the Anglo American culture. Yet Simmons (31) points out that the basic demands of living in the United States have required some change on the part of the Mexican Americans. Although original family organizations have persisted, patterns of traditional authority have witnessed major changes. Still, believes Simmons, even the acculturated Mexican American will retain in some degree the more subtle aspects of his culture, such as conceptions of time, fundamental value orientations, and modes of participation in interpersonal relations. Thus, if full acceptance of Mexican Americans by Anglos depends upon the complete disappearance of the Mexican American's cultural differences, full acceptance will not be accorded in the foreseeable future. Yet, as has been noted, Simmons believes Mexican Americans will exchange old ways for new, but only if the new ways appear more meaningful than the old ones, and then only if they are given full opportunity to acquire and to use the new ways.

PART THREE

Cognitive and Intellectual Functioning of Spanish-Speaking Children

I. New Viewpoints Concerning Intelligence

Before reviewing the literature concerning the performance of Spanish-speaking children as measured by standarized tests of intelligence, it may be helpful to place the concept of intelligence within the broader framework of the more recent thinking concerning the nature of intelligence. Before World War II, holds Hunt (11), most of the general textbooks tended to present the view that IQ scores derived from intelligence tests were essentially constant because intelligence was fixed, or predetermined at birth. Dissonant evidence, however, has led Hunt and others to re-evaluate the notion of fixed intelligence.

In 1905 Binet and Simon published, in France, the first scale for the purpose of yielding an over-all index of intelligence. According to Hunt (11), however, Alfred Binet never contended that intelligence is fixed. Hunt (11,12) sees the notion of fixed intelligence, as it developed in America, as being partly due to historical accident. He sees the notion of fixed intelligence as having its roots in Darwin's theory that evolution takes place through the variations in strains and species which enable them to survive. Francis Galton, Darwin's younger cousin, apparently found in this notion the implicit assumption that adult characteristics are determined by heredity, and he imparted his beliefs to his student, J. McKeen Cattell, who brought the intelligence test to America. The belief in fixed intelligence was further strengthened by the work of G. Stanley Hall, who influenced H. H. Goddard, F. Kuhlman, and Lewis Terman.

A number of factors supported the notion of fixed intelligence. First, performance on the complex, Binet-type tests was observed to improve with age. Second, the average IQ from age to age was observed to be highly constant. This, notes Hunt (11), was due to the manner in which the tests were constructed. Third, IQs of individual children were found to show considerable constancy from test to test through the school years to adulthood. When exceptions occurred, they were seen as errors of measurement. Fourth, sources on the various Binet-type tests evidenced considerable correlation with each other, leading to the view that intellectual activities had in common a single general factor, or *g*. Consistency from test to test helped to lead investigators to see the general factor as fixed. Fifth, intelligence tests evidenced validity in the sense of doing a fair job of predicting school achievement and success in various other lines. They also correlated with teachers' estimates of intelligence. This evidence aided the interpretation that intelligence is a relatively fixed capacity. Sixth, the correlations of intelligence test scores of people of various degrees of genetic relationship lent support to the assumption of fixed intelligence. Typically, correlations of intelligence test scores of identical twins were about +.9; for siblings, about +.5; for parents and their children, about +.5; for cousins, about +.25; and for unrelated children, about .00.

But evidence dissonant with the notion of fixed intelligence did appear. Hunt (11) sees this evidence as deriving from three main sources: (1) from studies of identical twins reared apart; (2) from repeated testing of the same children in longitudinal studies; and (3) from studies of the effects of training. Concerning the first source, Hunt cites a study by Newman, Freeman, and Holzinger conducted in 1937 with 19 pairs of twins, all of whom had been separated from each other at ages varying between six months and six years. Since twins were assumed to share the same genetic pool, the assumption was that if differences appeared in any characteristic between pairs reared apart, the differences must be attributed to variations in environment and experience. Actual IQ differences of 10 or more points did appear in seven of the pairs, and Hunt indicates that Newman and his associates concluded that environmental opportunities can account for substantial differences in measures of intelligence with the gene pool held constant. However, Hunt indicates that the fact that twins are reared separately need not mean that their encounters with the environment appreciably differ in any psychologically significant way, for one of the characteristics of a culture is the uniformity it dictates for the way children are reared. Hunt concludes that instances in which twins are merely reared apart can probably add nothing to a knowledge of the predetermination or plasticity of intelligence.

Concerning the second source, Hunt (11) reviews a number of longitudinal studies, including those of R. L. Thorndike, which indicated that test-retest correlations were fairly high for older children and young adults, but that as time between testings was increased, these correlations began to fall. For younger groups, stability of test-retest scores dropped even further as time between testings was increased. Hunt cites, for instance, the study of Bayley, conducted in 1940, in which the author combined the scores from the California Preschool schedules obtained at ages seven, eight, and nine months. When these combined scores were correlated with such combined scores obtained three months later, the correlation was +.81; 21 months later the correlation was +.39; 30 months later +.22; and when these combined scores were correlated with performance on intelligence tests at age six, the correlation was found to be approximately zero.

In order to prevent such data from becoming dissonant with the assumption of fixed intelligence, the reliability and validity of the infant tests of development and intelligence were questioned, even though Bayley had demonstrated high reliability coefficients for the infant tests she used in her study when given to her sample at seven, eight, and nine months of age. If validity was defined as predictive value, then the infant tests apparently were invalid. However, Hunt indicates that this may have been a matter of their behavioral content, the behavioral elements for the infant tests having little in common with those for later tests. Other studies cited by Hunt evidenced large IQ changes over extended periods of time, but Hunt notes that it is as easy to regard these changes as produced solely by intrinsic growth changes as to attribute them to plasticity of intelligence. He concludes, therefore, that there is a need for studies of the effects of experimentally controlled experiences during the early years on later intelligence, studies which ethical considerations render difficult with human beings.

Hunt (11) then considers the third source of evidence opposed to the assumption of fixed intelligence, that of the effects of training, by reviewing a number of studies which investigated the effects of schooling or of nursery school training on intelligence. Although a number of these studies did indicate that practice or training increased intelligence, in each case opponents were able to point to some defect in experimental design. One highly suggestive study, not of schooling *per se* but of the effects of a shift from an orphanage to an institution for the feebleminded, is of particular interest, partly due to the recent information provided by a follow-up study of the same group. Hunt reports on the original study conducted by Skeels and Dye in 1939. The study was prompted by a surprise discovery. Two residents of a state orphanage had been committed to an institution for the feebleminded not only because of poor performance on intelligence tests, but also because they displayed a lack of motor abilities and vocalization. One child, aged 13 months, achieved an IQ score of 46; the other, aged 16 months, attained an IQ score of 35. The children were placed in a ward with moron girls who ranged in age from 18 to 50 years, and had mental ages ranging from five to nine years. Six months after the transfer, a psychologist happened to note that the two children had shown a remarkable development. IQ tests at that time produced an IQ of 77 for the younger child, and an IQ of 87 for the older child. When the children were 40 and 43 months of age respectively, their IQs were measured as being 95 and 93. The authors of the study took these surprising results to be due to the effects upon the children of the attention and the stimulation that the moron girls lavished upon them; and, accordingly, they devised a plan to transfer mentally retarded children, one to two years of age, from the orphanage nursery to an institution for the feebleminded.

Thirteen children with a mean IQ of 64.3 and with a range of 36 to 89, and whose chronological ages ranged from 7 to 30 months, were transferred to such wards. Twelve other children, with a mean IQ of 87 and a range of 50 to 103, and with an age range of 12 to 22 months, were left in the orphanage. After children in the wards had been there for at least six months, they were retested. All but four showed gains of more than 20 IQ points. The minimum gain was 7 points, the maximum gain was 58 points. The children left in the orphanage were retested after periods varying between 21 and 43 months. All but one showed a decrease in IQ points. Ten showed decreases that ranged between 18 and 45 points, with five exceeding 35 points. However, Hunt (11) points out that the critic can find fault with the study on the grounds of statistical regression, the tendency for extreme groups to move toward the mean upon retesting. Since the group in the orphanage had the higher mean IQ, they could be expected to show a drop in mean IQ upon retest due to statistical regression. Conversely, the transferred group could be expected to show an apparent improvement in IQ upon retest due to statistical regression. Thus, while the evidence of this study is suggestive, Hunt concludes that the notion of fixed intelligence need not be rejected.

Recently, however, the senior author of the above study has published the tentative results of a follow-up study of the children involved in the original study. Skeels (29) reports that all subjects have been located after a lapse of 21 years. Preliminary findings indicate that the two original groups continue to be remarkably divergent. All of the 13 children who were transferred to the institution for the feebleminded are now self-supporting, and none is a ward of any institution. Eleven are married, and 9 have children. The median grade completed by this experimental group is 12; four subjects have had one or more years of college work, and one has received a B. A. degree. Occupationally, this experimental group ranges from professional and semi-professional positions to semi-skilled labor or domestic work. One girl, whose initial IQ was 35, has graduated from high school and has taken a semester of college work. She is married and has two boys, who have achieved IQ scores of 128 and 107. Of the 12 children in the original contrast group, one died in adolescence after a continued residence in a state institution for the mentally retarded. Four remain wards of institutions – one is in a mental hospital, and three are in institutions for the mentally retarded. Of the others who are no longer wards of any institution, only two have married, and one is divorced. Two of four females in this group were sterilized in late adolescence to preclude the possibility of procreation. The median school grade completed by members of this group is the third, and 50 percent of the subjects in this group are now unemployed. Those that are employed are unskilled laborers, with the exception of one. This evidence opposes the belief that intelligence is fixed at birth and cannot be altered by environment or experience.

The Assumption of Predetermined Development

Hunt (11) further notes that the assumption of fixed intelligence has received supplementary support from the assumption that development was genetically predetermined. This assumption holds that the behavioral repertoire unfolds automatically as a function of maturing neural and somatic structures. Hunt believes that this also partly is due to historical circumstance. G. Stanley Hall, who emphasized the concept of recapitulation (the belief that the development of the individual summarized the evolution of his species), concludes that each behavior pattern a child manifests is a natural stage with which no one should interfere. According to Hunt (11,12), Hall passed his thinking on to his student, Arnold Gesell, who explored the normative approach to child behavior. Gesell was concerned with describing what was characteristic of children at each age, and the conceptual significance of this approach was based upon the belief that development was inherently or genetically predetermined. The concept of predetermined development, continues Hunt, was supported by Coghill's findings in 1929 that frogs and salamanders develop behaviorally as they mature anatomically from head-end tailward and from inside out. Coghill also found that frogs and salamanders develop swimming patterns equally well whether inhibited by Chloretone or stimulated by vibration.

The work of Mary Shirley in 1931 and 1933 suggested that Coghill's principles might apply to human beings. She found that motor control in children begins headward and travels toward the feet. Later studies seemed to continue to support this concept of predetermined development. For instance, Hunt (11) reports that Dennis and Dennis found in 1940 that Hopi children, who, until the end of their first year, were typically bound to a board the greater part of the day allowing them freedom to move only their heads, did not differ significantly in the mean age at which they learned to walk from other Hopi children whose mothers had given up the practice of binding their children to cradle boards. The authors therefore concluded that walking was an autogenous response requiring little environmental stimulation for its evocation and integration.

But evidence incongruent to the assumption of predetermined development appeared. Hunt points, for instance, to the studies of Birch and of Dennis.

Dennis (6) studied human infants in three orphanages in Tehran, Iran. In institutions I and II, the children were extremely retarded in their motor development. In institution III, little motor retardation was present. Institution I cared for approximately 600 children under 3 years of age. In this institution there was a paucity of handling by the attendants, largely due to a fairly large child-attendant ratio. The children spent almost all of their time in their cribs, and were seldom placed prone. They were not propped up in their cribs and were given no toys. Nor was there play equipment of any kind in this institution. Children in institution II came largely from institution I, and were more than 3 years of age. Sanitation and cleanliness were poorer than in the first institution, and child care practices were similar to those of the first institution. Institution III was started to demonstrate improved methods, and drew children from institution I in the early months of life. The child-attendant ratio was three or four to one. Attendants were coached in methods of child care, and behavioral development was emphasized as well as nutrition and health. Children were held while being fed, were often propped in a sitting position while in the crib, and were often placed in a playpen on the floor. The children were also given numerous toys.

The author then made quantitative observations regarding motor coordinations of the children in the three institutions described above. In institution I, 90 children were tested. No children between the ages of 1.0 and 1.9 years, could walk alone, and only 42 percent could sit alone. Of children between the ages of 2.0 and 2.9 years, only 8 percent could walk alone, although 95 percent could sit alone. In institution II, 33 children were tested. Of those children between the ages of 3.0 and 3.9 years, only 15 percent could walk alone. Studies of American children indicate, noted the author, that by 9 months of age all normal, non-institutional children can sit alone, and that by two years of age nearly all can walk alone. In institution III, 51 children were tested. Of those between the ages of 1.0 and 1.9 years, 90 percent sat alone. Of those between the ages of 2.0 and 2.9 years, 100 percent sat alone, and 94 percent walked alone. In institutions I and II, most children who locomoted did so in a peculiar fashion. They "scooted" by pushing their body with their arms while sitting. Of those who locomoted in institution II by either "scooting" or creeping, most crept on their hands and knees. The author concluded that this was the result of different learning situations.

Children who constantly remained on their backs had no opportunity to learn to sit, and when this did belatedly occur, it provided them with their only means of transportation.

On the other hand, children in institution III, who were often placed prone, had opportunities to practice movements necessary for creeping. This could easily have led to walking, since the creeping child would be able to grasp furniture and pull himself to his knees. The author concluded that experience affects not only the age at which motor items appear, but also their form; norms are met only under favorable environmental conditions. The author also concluded that the findings challenged the viewpoint that motor development consists of a behavioral sequence based primarily on maturation; maturation alone is insufficient to bring about post-natal development in behavior.

Hunt (11,12) believes that much debate over the constancy of the IQ, and its correlate, predetermined development, may have been avoided if the work of the Danish geneticist Johannsen had been better known in America. Johannsen distinguished the *genotype,* the constellation of genes that an organism receives from its progenitors, from the *phenotype,* the organism as it appears and as it may be measured at any point in its development. The genotype apparently provides controlling directives for development and sets limits for that range of phenotypic development. Although IQ has commonly been treated as if it were a genotype (innate capacity), it is actually a phenotype, and, like all phenotypes (height, weight, language spoken), it is a product of the genotype and the circumstances with which it has interacted. A child's encounters with his environment during the course of his development collaborates with his genotype in determining the development of those structures and organizations of central processes within the child's brain that mediate his intelligent behavior. The structures change during the course of development, and during the process of accommodating new variations in circumstances. At any given stage of development, a child's phenotypic intelligence depends on his genotype and on the succession of circumstances that he has encountered. The newer view of development is interactionism. From the moment of conception, the fertilized ovum is an organism in adaptive interaction with its environment. A given phenotype of an organism at any given moment is not only determined by the environment that prevails at any given moment, but by the whole succession of environments experienced during its lifetime.

Where, then, does Hunt search for a precise definition of intelligence, and an explanation of its development? Although he draws ideas from many sources, he devotes considerable space to the concepts of the Swiss psychologist, Jean Piaget. This may reflect a current surge of interest in the developmental system of Piaget, noted by Flavell (7).

II. The Concepts of Piaget

In attempting to define intelligence, Piaget (25) begins with the concept that every response, whether it is an act directed toward the outside world or an act internalized as thought, takes the form of an adaptation or re-adaptation. The individual acts only if he experiences a need; that is, if the equilibrium between the organism and its environment is momentarily upset. The action, termed equilibration, suceeds in compensating for the external disturbance (Piaget, 23). But this equilibration is an activity, not a state of rest; it is mobile, not immobile. Thus, equilibration is defined as compensation, the annulling of a transformation by an inverse transformation. This compensation implies the fundamental idea of reversibility, which is what characterizes the operations of intelligence.

Equilibrium achieves adaptation, which Piaget (25) describes as an equilibrium between the action of the organism on the environment and vice versa. Adaptation is dependent upon the processes of assimilation and accommodation. Piaget (25) describes assimilation as the action of the organism on the surrounding environment, insofar as this action depends on previous behavior involving the same or similar objects. Honstead (9) simply names assimilation as seeing stimuli in the light of familiarity, while Hunt (11) indicates that assimilation operates whenever the organism sees something new in terms of something familiar, acts in a new situation as it has acted in other situations in the past, or invests anything with familiarity, importance, or value. Concerning accommodation, Piaget (25) notes that the pressure of circumstances does not lead to passive submission to them, but rather to a simple modification of the action affecting them. Accommodation is thus the process of changing ideas to fit the new situation (Honstead,9). Hunt (11) notes that environmental circumstances do not evoke merely a fixed response from the organism, nor do they get a passive submission to circumstances, but rather, they modify the action, or *schema,* affecting them. Adaptation, then, is an equilibrium between accommodation and assimilation, which Piaget (25) sees as amounting to an equilibrium of interaction between subject and object. The ready-made reflexive schemata of the newborn infant becomes progressively transformed during the course of this dual adaptive process of assimilation and accommodation into the logical "organizations" of adult intelligence, characterized by conceptual reversibility (Hunt, 11). Interaction between subject and object takes place at ever increasing spatio-temporal distances and along ever more complex paths. The whole development of mental activity is the function of the equilibrium between an assimilation of realities further and further removed from the action itself and an accommodation of the latter to the former (Piaget, 25). As accommodation aids new assimilations and new assimilations aid further accommodations within a broadening field of application, the individual strives toward an ideal state of equilibrium. Piaget (23) thus defines intelligence as " . . . the state of equilibrium towards which tend all the successive adaptations of a sensori-motor and cognitive nature, as well as all assimilatory and accommodatory interactions between the organism and the environment (p. 11)."

In what manner, then, does intellectual development take place? According to Piaget, intellectual development takes place in an ordered series of periods or stages which are themselves divided into various subperiods and phases. Piaget (23) distinguishes four great periods in intellectual development: the sensori-motor period, before the appearance of language; the preoperational period which precedes real mental operations; the period of concrete operations; and the period of formal operations. Hunt (11) and Honstead (9) interpret Piaget as identifying three great periods, since they view the preoperational period as a subperiod of the period of concrete operations; Flavell (7) also speaks of the subperiod of preoperational thought.

The sensori-motor period lasts from birth to roughly 18 months or two years of age (Hunt,11). During six stages, the child creates through his continual adaptive accommodations and assimilations such mental operations as "intentions," "means-end" differentiation, interest in novelty, and the beginnings of interiorized schemata for such elements as the permanence of the object, space, casuality, and time. The child begins with nothing but his simple reflexes. During this period, the reflexive sensori-motor schemata are generalized, coordinated with each other, and differentiated to form the elementary operations of intelligence, which correspond to the problem-solving abilities of sub-human animals.

The preoperational period (or the preconceptual phase of the period of concrete operations, according to Hunt, 11) begins when the child is about 18 months or two years of age and lasts until about four years of age. During this stage, symbolic functions appear (Hunt, 11). A child's activity is dominated by symbolic play in which he imitates and represents what he has seen others do. Assimilations resulting from repetitions of play activities and accommodations forced by the variation in the models imitated creates a store of central processes which symbolize the actions imitated.

As images become established, the child acquires the verbal signs of language. These action-images extend the scope of the child's mental operation beyond the range of immediate action and momentary perception, and also speed up his mental activity. These action-images become internalized actions, but they are still centered on the activity itself (Piaget, 23). They do not allow the objective combinations that operations would. The absence of operations, which appear at the next stage, is evidenced by a lack of knowledge of conservation. The child will not conserve quantity when the liquid within one glass is poured into a differently shaped glass. He will say that the amount of liquid has changed because the child reasons from his initial perception of the configuration, not comprehending the transformation involved.

About seven or eight years of age, the child enters the period of concrete operations (or the phase of concrete operations of the larger period of concrete operations, according to Hunt, 11). The first operations of the manipulation of objects, the concrete operations, appear. The child's central processes become more and more autonomous, and his thought becomes increasingly "decentered" from perception and action (Hunt, 11). Piaget (23) indicates that these operations deal with logical classes and with logical relations, or numbers. They do not deal yet with propositions or hypotheses, which do not appear until the last period. The simplest operation is concerned with classifying objects according to their similarities and differences, accomplished by including subclasses within larger and more general classes. It is the process of logical inclusion. The operation of serializing also appears during this period. The child becomes capable of arranging objects according to some criteria such as size or weight. During this period, the construction of numbers, a synthesis of classification and seriation, also appears. The child, however, is simply manipulating concrete objects.

The last period of formal operations begins about 11 or 12 years of age, when the child begins to group or systematize his concrete operations and thereby to consider also all possible combinations in each case (Hunt, 11). The child becomes capable of reasoning on the basis of hypotheses as well as on the basis of objects (Piaget, 23). From the beginning of this period until approximately 15 or 16 years of age, the child achieves the final steps of "decentering" and "reversibility," as his central processes become sufficiently autonomous to permit him to operate with the total number of possibilities rather than merely the empirical situation (Hunt, 11). He no longer needs to confine his attention to existing reality. The deductive procedures of science and of logic open to him, and he becomes capable of seeing the world as it might be rather than as it is.

Hunt (11) believes that five main themes dominate Piaget's theoretical formulations. First, there is continual and progressive change in the structures of behavior and thought in the child. Flavell (7) indicates that cognitive progress is possible in Piaget's system because accommodatory acts are continually being extended to new and different features of the environment. The feature to which accommodation has been extended will be assimilated into the individual's mental structure to the extent that it can fit somewhere within the existing structure. But once the feature has been assimilated, it tends to change the structure to some degree, and to make possible further accommodatory extensions. And these structures are not static and unchanging even in the absence of environmental stimulation, for they are constantly becoming reorganized internally and integrated with other systems. Changes in structure due to assimilation direct new accommodations, and new attempts at accommodation stimulate structural reorganizations.

Second, these structures appear in an invariant order. However, the relationship between a behavioral landmark and the age at which it appears is no more than a convenient device. The rate of development is explained by the child-environment interaction. Honstead (9) notes that it is much more important to understand how development takes place than exactly when it can be expected to occur.

Hunt's third point is that the gradual diversification and differentiation of behavioral and thought structures derive from the invariant functions of assimilation and accommodation that operate in a child's continuous interaction with his environment. This concept of organism-environment interaction through the processes of accommodation and assimilation is neither hereditarian nor environmentalistic, but both. The first response of a child in a given situation is a behavioral structure (schemata) already present from past assimilation. Variations in environment, however, force the child to cope with these variations, and, in the process of this coping, to modify the structures. The more variations in reality with which the child has coped, the greater is his capacity for coping; that is, the more differentiated and mobile his structures become. Thus, the more new things that a child has seen and heard, the more things he is interested in seeing and hearing.

Fourth, intelligence increases as actions become internalized to become thought and as thought becomes "decentered" and dominant over a child's perceptions and activities. Simple reflexive schemata become coordinated into more complex schemata, which in turn become re-coordinated into mobile action-systems as the child's independence from immediate stimulation increases. Central neural processes that mediate or constitute thought become more and more autonomous and more and more dominant over receptor inputs and motor outputs.

Fifth, Piaget explains thought in terms of its logical properties. Reversing the explanation of thought as reflecting logical properties, Piaget sees logic reflecting thought. As man accommodates thought to the problems raised by electronic computers, atomic power, and interstellar travel, thought with new logical properties may result. In fact, Hunt (11) sees the electronic computer as supplying a model for brain functioning. Experience can be regarded as the programming of the intrinsic portions of the cerebrum for learning and problem solving, and intellectual capacity at any given time can be conceived as a function of the nature and the quality of this programming. It is possible that a review of the studies concerning the intellectual functioning of Spanish-speaking children will be more meaningful if placed in the context of these newer views concerning intelligence and intellectual development.

III. The Intellectual Functioning of Spanish-Speaking Children

A review of the literature reveals an apparent lack of studies concerning the measured intellectual functioning of pre-school Spanish-speaking children, and there is clearly a need for more research in this area. However, there are a number of studies available that have concerned themselves with older Spanish-speaking children. Carlson and Henderson (3) conducted a longitudinal study in which a number of different intelligence tests were administered to 115 children of Mexican parentage whose IQs were found to be lower than the mean IQ of Anglo children by critical ratios that the authors did not feel could be attributed to chance. The gap between the two groups widened between the first and the third testing period, apparently due to a "dropping-off" of the Mexican American children's IQ scores rather than to an increase in the IQ scores of the Anglo children.

The authors admitted that they had not controlled the factors of urban-rural parental background, a possibly more limited vocabulary not only in English but also in Spanish for the experimental group, and differences in motivation at the time of testing. They did feel, however, that they had controlled the direct urban-rural factor, the socio-economic factor, the effects of prejudice, and the "total cultural complex." Pasamanick (22) replied to the study, calling the Carlson and Henderson implication that they had controlled the "total cultural complex" an unfortunate one. He then cited tables of education and work status, indicating a lack of socio-economic homogeneity among the five census tracts in Los Angeles from which Carlson and Henderson had presumably drawn their subjects. He also pointed out that the authors had not controlled the factor of the quality and quantity of parental education, and that the experimental and control groups differed in age 3.2 months at first testing and 9.4 months at third testing, a difference that probably was significant statistically. Pasamanick concluded rather grimly that none of the factors enumerated by Carlson and Henderson could be controlled at that time, and were "inherently uncontrollable" under the then existing circumstances.

Shortly afterwards, Cook (4) tested 97 Mexican American children from the St. Paul, Minnesota area on the Stanford-Binet and the Form I of the Point Scale of Performance Tests, a non-verbal intelligence test. The mean age of these children was 12 years and seven months, with their ages ranging from six years and seven months to 16 years and six months. On the Binet, the mean IQ of the children was 83.77, while on the PSPT it was 101.06. The author believed that the non-verbal scale revealed a high potential that the Binet did not, and stated that educational guidance for Mexican American children should be based on the results from a non-verbal intelligence test as well as upon the more commonly used verbal scales. The subjects, according to the author, appeared to be handicapped by lack of language facility on the Binet test, which was given in English.

Altus (1) attempted to investigate the problem of bilingualism as it affected intelligence test scores. He began by noting that previous investigations had indicated that, on the average, the measured IQ of Mexican American children was 10 to 15 points below that of their non-Mexican American school-age peers. He concluded, though, that this difference could not be considered real as long as such handicaps as bilingualism were left uncontrolled. He administered the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children to a group of bilingual Spanish-speaking children and a group of unilingual children on the grounds that the WISC had both a Verbal scale and a Performance scale, and that the Performance tests were largely self-explanatory. He believed that the Performance IQ would be a fairly good indicator of the Verbal IQ except in those instances where handicapping influences such as bilingualism were in operation. The mean age of these children was approximately 11 years for all subjects. The average difference in Verbal IQ turned out to be 17 points in favor of the unilingual group, and the greatest discrepancies between the two groups appeared on the Vocabulary, Information, and Similarities subtests of the Verbal scale. Since there was no significant difference between the Performance IQ of the two groups, the author concluded that the Spanish-speaking group's retardation on the Verbal scale was linguistic.

Johnson (17) also studied the relationship between bilingualism and intelligence test scores. He administered to 30 Spanish-speaking boys, ranged in age from 9 through 12, the Goodenough Draw a Man Test (non-verbal), the Otis Self-Administering Test of Mental Ability, and a Reaction-Time Test of Bilingualism. The mean on the Goodenough Test was 98.77, while the mean Otis intelligence quotient was 86.37. The Reaction-Time Test of Bilingualism required the subjects to recall as many English words in five minutes as they could, and then as many Spanish words as they could in the same length of time. It was found, at a high level of statistical significance, that there was an inverse relationship between performance on the Otis and knowledge of Spanish in comparison to English. That is, the higher the Otis IQ, the less knowledge the child had of Spanish in comparison to English.

On the other hand, a greater knowledge of Spanish was found to be associated with superior performance on the Goodenough, although this relationship was not statistically significant. The author also found that the greater the knowledge of English in comparison with knowledge of Spanish, the more nearly the Goodenough and the Otis scores approached each other. The author concluded that an intelligence test employing the English language was probably not a valid measuring instrument when used with subjects deficient in the assimilation of the culture of which English is reflective, and that measuring the intelligence of bilingual subjects presented complex problems which possibly render both performance and linguistic tests invalid.

Keston and Jimenez (18) tried to determine if an intelligence test is best administered to Spanish-speaking students in English or in Spanish. They administered Form *M* of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test to 50 Spanish American children in the fourth grade. A month later, they gave the same children a Spanish translation of Form *L* of the same test. On the average, these children were about 10 years old. The mean IQ of these children on the English version was 86.0; but on the Spanish version it was only 71.8. The correlation coefficient of the IQ scores on the English and on the Spanish versions was .36; and since Terman and Merrill had reported a correlation between the scores obtained on the two forms of .93 when both were delivered in English, the authors concluded that factors other than the effects of translation were operating to lower the correlation. One factor that they pointed out was that probably the children tested had a higher level of development in English than in Spanish. The examiners had noted that in their Spanish conversation these children had speech habits similiar to pre-school children. They also manifested limitations in vocabulary and complexity of expression when using Spanish.

The authors concluded that development in the use of the Spanish language came to a virtual standstill when these children entered grade school and began their formal education in English. On the other hand, many of the English expressions of common usage in the earliest grades had not yet been mastered by these children, indicating to the authors that there is some confusion in the language habits of children in a bilingual situation, and that even the English version of the test does injustice to these children when the resulting IQ scores are interpreted too literally. There was a .62 correlation between the English IQ test scores and grade point average, but only a .11 correlation between Spanish IQ test scores and grade point average. In other words, the children performed better in the language in which they had had formal instruction. The authors decided that even though the norms of the test were determined from an English-speaking population and were therefore not really applicable to these students, that the norms were as good as any available and that the test was best administered in English. On the other hand, they did not find the Spanish version a fair measure of the children's intellectual abilities either, since their variety of spoken Spanish contained many contaminations and Anglicisms.

Jensen (13) tried another approach to the assessment of the intellectual abilities of Spanish-speaking children. He noted that both verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests generally classified the majority of Mexican American children below the average of the predominantly Anglo American groups on which the tests were standarized, and that standard intelligence tests can be inappropriate for children who have not had much exposure to the Anglo American culture of the normative group, since standard intelligence tests are actually static measures of achievement which sample the knowledge and skills that the child has acquired in the past. He therefore attempted to measure the educational potentialities of Mexican American children by using tests that provided direct measures of *present* learning abilities. He utilized two types of materials consisting of familiar and abstract objects. The familiar objects consisted of such things as a bar of soap, a toy car, a ball, etc. The abstract objects consisted of plastic forms of various shapes and colors. There were three types of learning tasks: an Immediate Recall task in which subjects were asked to recall objects after they had been studied and then removed from sight; a Paired Associates Learning task, in which the children were required to associate one object with another and then recall one object of the pair when it was hidden from view; and a Serial Learning task in which objects were hidden from view under small boxes and the children were required to guess what was under each box, turning it up to see if they were right. A child had not met the criterion until he had learned the entire serial order from left to right. Several experiments were run utilizing fourth and sixth grade Mexican American and Anglo children who had been matched for socio-economic status and IQ level.

The author found that Mexican American children of low IQ performed significantly better than Anglo Children of low IQ. The Anglo children of low IQ were actually slow learners compared to Mexican American children of the same IQ level. There was no significant difference between the learning abilities of children of either ethnic group who had above average IQ scores. The author concluded from his total work that the IQ test is a valid measure of learning ability for Anglo children, but not for Mexican American children against whom the test discriminates on some other basis than inherent poor learning ability. Mexican American children of low IQ as measured by an intelligence test appeared to be quite normal in learning ability. These children, however, might not have acquired in their environment the kinds of knowledge, habits, and skills that are tapped by IQ tests, and which provide a basis for school learning. The author also concluded that non-verbal intelligence tests probably discriminate against Mexican American children as much as verbal intelligence tests since non-verbal performance tasks actually require verbal mediation.

Rapier (26) studied the effects of verbal mediation upon the learning of Mexican American children. In one experiment, 40 children were selected and paired for IQ, there being 10 Mexican American and 10 Anglo children in an "average" group. The experiment attempted to study the effects of supplying the necessary mediating links on paired-associates learning. The children learned to pair an ordered series of pictures with another ordered series of pictures, and then learned to pair these with a third ordered series of pictures. There were no significant differences found in the learning abilities of either ethnic group. These children were then asked to learn to pair the first series with pictures from the third series, but an experimental group was allowed a common connecting link between pictures in the form of the second series, while a control group had to learn to pair the first series with pictures from the third series that had been randomized. In both ethnic groups mediated learning occurred.

However, dull Mexican Americans used mediating links in learning new connections better than dull Anglo Americans. The author thus concluded that Mexican Americans will profit from the opportunity to use verbal mediators for the facilitation of further learning, and that their learning disability might not be due to the inability to verbally mediate, but rather to a lack of reservoir of verbal associations which they could invoke in any new learning situation.

Johnson (14, 15, 16) and Demos (5) have studied ethnic attitudes of Mexican Americans. Piaget (25) has pointed out that affective life and cognitive life are inseparable although distinct, because all interaction with the environment involves both a structuring and a valuation. One cannot reason without experiencing certain feelings, and conversely, no affect can exist without a minimum of understanding or discrimination. Johnson (14) began by devising an experimental projective technique for the analysis of racial attitudes which he called the Projective Test of Racial Attitudes. He selected six pictures which generally covered most of the social situations that individuals of four, eight, and 12 years of age would ordinarily meet.

The pictures contained life situations which portrayed behavior most easily emphasized by the subjects such as a boy with a bat, two cowboys approaching each other, and a girl crying. Each picture had a hero figure with whom the subject could identify, thus projecting something of the dynamics of his own personality into the depicted situations. The cards were relevant to ethnic situations. For example, in one picture an Anglo child would be holding a bat while a Mexican boy stood near, and vice versa. Children's responses to viewing the cards were scored on five variables: effect of the environment, adequacy of the principal character, fate of the hero, conclusion of the story theme which the subjects were asked to furnish; and subjects' opinion of the other ethnic group as stated immediately after the testing. The initial study indicated that there was a tendency for four-year-old Spanish-speaking children to be prejudiced in favor of the Anglo group, but the prejudice seemed to be coupled with resentment. On the other hand, four-year-old Anglos who preferred the Mexican stereotype were least prejudiced. There was an insignificant tendency for the Spanish-speaking children to become more moderate in their opinions of the Anglo as age increased, but Anglo dislike of the Spanish-speaking group increased markedly from the four-year-old to the eight-year-old level.

Johnson used this instrument to study the origin and development of the Mexican attitude toward the Anglo and the Anglo attitude toward the Mexican (15). He found that four-year-old Spanish-speaking children seemed to be less prejudiced than were Anglo children of the same age. During the years from four to eight, Spanish-speaking children developed a negative attitude toward Anglos which reached approximately the same level as that demonstrated by 12-year-old Spanish-speaking children. In other words, there was a leveling off process in negative attitude development between the ages of 8 to 12. On the other hand, negative attitudes of Anglo children toward the Spanish-speaking developed little during the years from four to eight, but during the years from eight to 12 their negative attitudes greatly increased. At age 12, Anglo children had the highest level of prejudice of all groups and ages studied. Further analysis indicated that the origin of the Spanish-speaking child's prejudice toward the Anglo originated at about the three-and-one-half year age level, while Anglo children's prejudice developed somewhat before this time. The author took this to indicate that the instilled attitude of one group may contribute to the attitudinal development of the other. As age increased, Spanish-speaking children's reactions to the Mexican-Anglo environment in the pictures became less satisfactory, and they indicated less feeling that this environment was helpful.

Johnson (16) administered the Hoffman Bilingual Scale to children of the four, eight, and 12-year-old age groups to determine their degree of bilingualism. He then administered the Projective Test of Racial Attitudes and correlated a prejudice score, derived from that test, with the bilingual score of the Hoffman Scale. Four-year-old Spanish-speaking children with the greatest and the least bilingual background were found to have the least prejudice. Apparently a great amount of knowledge of the Anglo culture or no knowledge of it at all yielded the least bias toward it. Spanish-speaking subjects at the eight-year-old level having highest and lowest bilingual scores had equal prejudice. Spanish-speaking children at the 12-year-old level having the greatest and least bilingual scores tended to furnish unsatisfactory conclusions to themes in their response to the pictures. However, correlations between the adequacy of the principal character and bilingualism, and the fate of the hero and bilingualism, indicated that as age increased there was less tendency for children with high bilingual background scores to attribute subordination and defeat to the hero in the picture.

Demos (5) devised an attitude scale of 29 items thought to deal with Mexican American attitudes toward education, and administered it to a Mexican American group, an Anglo group randomly paired with the Mexican American group, and an Anglo group matched with the Mexican American group on age, grade, sex, social class, and intelligence. The children were in the seventh through the twelfth grades. While the random Anglo group differed from the

γ

Mexican American group on 10 items, the matched Anglo group differed from the Mexican American group on only 6 items. Since matching reduced the number of significant differences from 10 to 6 items, the author concluded that these 6 differences were a result of Mexican American group membership. On five of these differences, the Mexican Americans had the less favorable attitude. These differences included attitudes on the importance of an elementary education, the staff's concern about students, the desirability of dropping out of school, the desirability of a gang, and the importance of good school attendance. On the sixth item, the value of a college education, the Mexican American group had the more favorable attitude. The author offered no rationale for these differences, but noted that several of the issues where significant differences were involved dealt with human relations.

Another problem is the content of the intelligence test. Hunt (11) writes:

> *. . . In traditional tests, what is sampled is typically named in terms of such skill categories as verbal or arithmetic skill. The attempts by factor analysis . . . to specify what is sampled . . . yield what is probably best conceived as systems of coordinates which simplify the comparing of people in their test-performance and, perhaps, facilitate making predictions about the efficiency of people. These systems of coordinates, regardless of the names given to them, may – yes, probably – have little or nothing to do with the natural structures, schemata, operation, and concepts organized within individuals that determine their problem-solving (p. 311).*

These structures, schemata, operations, and concepts are, in Piagetian theory, learned through a continual organism-environment interaction; and the environment with which one interacts may be important in determining what type of accommodations and assimilations will take place – that is, what the phenotype of the intelligence will be at any given moment. It has been noted that Jensen (13) believes that Mexican American children may not have acquired in their environment the kinds of knowledge, habits, and skills that are tapped by IQ tests. Yourman (32), in speaking of a decision made several years ago in New York City to abandon group IQ testing in the city's public schools, notes that almost half of the city's public school pupils might be called culturally deprived, having home and community experiences not comparable to those of the representative children of their ages against whom their native learning ability is measured. The problem of the normative group and the problem of the content are related. The types of questions asked and the types of performances required by standardized intelligence tests may adequately sample the intelligence of those similar to the individuals upon whom the norms were based, but may be completely inadequate for the purpose of sampling the intelligence of individuals who are dissimilar in learning patterns and in environment from those upon whom the tests were standardized.

Another problem is the adequacy of non-verbal tests of intelligence for the purpose of sampling the intelligence of Spanish-speaking children. While the Spanish-speaking children's scores on non-verbal tests of intelligence have generally been higher than their scores on verbal intelligence tests, Johnson (17) believes that measuring the intelligence of bilingual subjects presents complex problems which possibly render both performance and linguistic tests invalid. Sanchez (25, Section 1) says:". . . investigators, proud of their recognition of the 'language handicap' of Spanish-speaking children, have chosen to test these children with 'nonverbal' tests, overlooking completely that the nonverbal tests are as culturally-based as the verbal tests and that neither can test what is not there." Jensen (13) also concludes that nonverbal intelligence tests probably discriminate against Mexican American children as much as verbal tests, since nonverbal performance tasks actually require verbal mediation.

Stablein, Willey, and Thomson (30) have evaluated the Davis-Ells Test of General Intelligence or Problem Solving Ability, a test which is nonverbal except for the instructions. Their subjects were 83 Anglo children about nine years of age and 127 Spanish American children about ten years of age. In addition to administering the Davis-Ells test to these children, they also administered the Metropolitan Achievement Test Battery, the Primary Mental Abilities Test, and a vocabulary test. On each test, the Spanish-speaking group scored lower than the Anglo group. The Spanish-speaking group was as different from the Anglo group on the Davis-Ells test as on tests reputed to be heavily loaded with cultural items – it discriminated as much between the two groups as other measures. This may have been due to the particular construction of the particular test, or to any of a number of other factors; however, it would seem impossible to construct any completely nonverbal test since a modicum of verbal mediation would need to be involved, especially with younger children.

Another problem concerns the use of translated tests. Even after translation, cultural factors may remain which may render the test invalid for Spanish-speaking children despite the fact that it is administered in their own language. Roca (28) discusses the problems encountered by the psychologists of the Division of Research and Statistics of the Department of Education of Puerto Rico when they attempted to translate and adapt for use in Puerto Rican schools three standardized intelligence tests: the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, the Revised Stanford-Binet Scale, and the Goodenough Intelligence Test. They attempted not merely to translate the tests, but also to adapt the tests to the needs of Puerto Rican children. On the two verbal scales, they found that this required not merely a change in the wording of many questions, but also a change in the order of difficulty of the questions. In order to compensate for cultural factors the question "Who wrote *Romeo and Juliet?*" which appears in the Wechsler scale was changed to "Who wrote *Don Quixote?*" Another question in the Arithmetic subscale of the Wechsler concerned buying oranges. However, buying oranges was such a common activity in Puerto Rico that the question had to be moved to an easier level of difficulty.

It should be reasonably obvious that such changes play havoc with the structure of the tests. Therefore, the psychologists involved in this study attempted to standardize the translated and adapted tests on Puerto Rican children, for which purpose they used several hundred children. The results are informative. On the translated and adapted scales, the average IQ for Puerto Rican children was about 87. Even on the nonverbal Goodenough Draw-a-Man Test, the test norms for different age groups of Puerto Rican children were found to be lower than the norms of corresponding American children. The author attributes these lower test results on the adapted scales to cultural differences, and points out that no matter how well an intelligence scale is adapted from one culture to another, cultural differences still remain which will cause the children from the second culture to score lower than those from the first.

Another problem that may merit some consideration is the level of verbal competency of the Spanish-speaking children taking the standardized intelligence test, especially when it is administered in Spanish. Keston and Jimenez (18) concluded from their study that the Spanish version of the Stanford-Binet was not a fair measure of the intellectual ability of the children in their study, since the Spanish spoken by these children contained many contaminations and Anglicisms. Perales (22, Section Two) found that Spanish-speaking students tend to encounter three difficulties when speaking their own language; they tend to borrow from a limited English vocabulary to complete expressions begun in Spanish, because their Spanish vocabulary is limited; they may tend to give English words Spanish pronunciations and meanings; and they may have difficulties in pronunciation and enunciation. If a child has any of these difficulties, there may be a reasonable question as to whether or not giving him an intelligence test in Spanish would handicap him. Manuel (19) states that if the child knows only Spanish, the obvious procedure is to test the child in Spanish. He feels, however, that when the Spanish-speaking child enters the English-speaking school that the situation changes rapidly, and that by the second grade the children will do about as well on a group test of general ability when the directions are given in English as when the directions are given in Spanish. He also feels that school achievement can be tested best in the language in which learning has occurred. For preschool children who know little or no English, however, there would seem to be no alternative but to test in Spanish, if tests are required. Manuel believes that many of the tests used with English-speaking children are really quite appropriate for Spanish-speaking children, if the results are interpreted correctly. He states that the "unfairness" of a test is more likely to be in the interpretation than in the test itself.

The interpretation is an important factor. Until fairly recently it was commonly held that intelligence was an innate capacity fixed at birth by genetic determination. Therefore, it was easy to believe that the IQ, a purported measure of this fixed capacity, was itself constant, and that any fluctuations in the IQ score were the result of errors of measurement. When based on this philosophy, IQ score interpretations tended to conclude that the IQ score was a fairly reliable measure of innate capacity which could be little changed, and that it was a fairly reliable predictor of future behavior. Hunt (11) writes:

> *...It would appear to be outside the realm of scientific possibility... to predict with precision the future characteristics or phenotypic fate of any organism from knowing merely its present characteristics, without being able to specify the future conditions under which it will live. Since it is impossible to specify what any person's future encounters with his environment will be, attempting to predict his future behavior from test performances alone is at best a matter of statistical empiricism. At worst it smacks of occult prophecy.*

This is not to say that standardized intelligence tests do not have some predictive value in certain areas under specified conditions. Intelligence tests are known to correlate with grade point average attained in school. For instance, it may be recalled that Keston and Jimenez (18) found that English test scores of Spanish-speaking children in their study correlated .62 with grade point average. For English-speaking children whose experiences and environment are more nearly similar to those of the normative group, this correlation can be expected to be higher. If it is realized that this is a correlation and not a direct correspondence, then perhaps a tentative prediction in a limited area such as grade point average may be made for children similar to the normative group from the score on an intelligence test. But applying such an interpretation to the scores obtained by Spanish-speaking children on a standardized test may, as Manuel (19) has indicated, constitute the "unfairness" of the test.

One possible way to make a beginning toward overcoming the problems of invalid interpretation is to construct tests in such a manner that they give truly comparable results whether delivered in English or in Spanish. Such has been the approach of the Guidance Testing Associates, which, under the directorship of Dr. H. T. Manuel of the University of Texas, issues the Inter-American series. This series offers Tests of General Ability at five levels, an individually administered Preschool Test of General Ability, and Tests of Reading at five levels, in comparable Spanish and English editions (see the manual, 21, and the catalogue, 8). The manual for the Inter-American Series states that the comparability of the English and the Spanish editions is the unique contribution of the Series. Each child can be tested in his native language, and the scores derived from either language will be comparable. The technical report (20) indicates that items in the tests were constructed with three criteria in mind: (1) selection of materials common to the cultures of the Spanish-speaking and the English-speaking peoples of the Western Hemisphere, but not necessarily of the same frequency within the cultures; (2) use of the same pictures, drawings, and numbers in the non-language parts of the test booklets; (3) use of the same directions and the same verbal content, expressed for one edition in standard English and for the other in standard Spanish of similar difficulty. There are limitations, however. The manual (21) states that the materials are too limited in breadth to include the many abilities which should be summarized in order to provide an adequate measure of general intelligence. In addition, no national norms have been developed based on a national standardization sample. The recommendation is that those who use the tests prepare their own local or regional norms. Undoubtedly this would be ideal. It is, however, no easy task.

Stanford (31) has suggested another way of avoiding improper interpretation of intelligence test scores when applying standardized intelligence tests to Spanish-speaking children. He indicates that it may be more accurate to say that what is being measured by intelligence tests when applied to Spanish-speaking children is their *operational* level in an English-speaking society at a given point in time. Therefore, the author would not discard intelligence tests when they fail to work with Spanish-speaking children, but rather would encourage teachers to view these test results as flexible indicators of expected operational level at a given time rather than established mental ability. These scores, according to the author, can be expected to improve as the Spanish-speaking child becomes increasingly socialized in the English-speaking classroom.

PART FOUR

Disadvantaged Mexican American Children and Early Educational Experience

I. Disadvantaged Mexican American Children

The United States has witnessed in recent years a surge of interest in the problems of poverty and cultural disadvantage, of which Project Head Start has been an indication. A number of writers in the field of Mexican American studies have suggested that the term "culturally disadvantaged" may also be applicable to a large portion of the Spanish-speaking population. Manuel (33) has written:

> *. . . More Spanish-speaking children than English-speaking children come from "culturally disadvantaged" homes, more of them have little or no knowledge of the language of the school when they enroll; more of them must continue their education in a language different from their home language; more of them lack a background of experience and incentive favoring high educational achievement (p. 69).*

Sanchez (50) commented concerning the Spanish-speaking child:

> *...The fact that his state of socio-economic disadvantage is usually accompanied by a lack of knowledge of the English language is nearly always interpreted as "language handicap" or "bilingualism." As a consequence of this confusion, the school addresses itself to a fruitless hunt into the mysteries of the deleterious effects of being unable to speak English, instead of adapting its program to the requirements of children who are disadvantaged socio-economically . . . (p. 21).*

And L. S. Tireman (57) has commented:

> *...We recognize that many of the Spanish-speaking children come from homes of low economic status. Consequently, their environment provides less stimulation than the environment of the more fortunate children who live in homes of greater wealth. The same situation applies equally to the English-speaking children who come from homes of low economic status (p. 135).*

Socio-economic status, of course, is not the sole criterion upon which cultural deprivation is based. Pease (44) indicates that it is also based on such other factors as social participation, location and type of home, stability of marriage, source of income, methods of child-rearing, and degree and direction of motivation. As Lewis (31) points out, one need not be poor to belong to what he calls the "culture of poverty." This culture of poverty, to which a large number of the lower socio-economic group belongs, is a true culture in that it provides human beings with a design for living and a ready-made set of solutions for human problems. But socio-economic status does play a part in determining who will belong to the culture of poverty, since the culture of poverty begins in a cash economy in which the low-income group produces little wealth and receives little in return.

Lewis believes that the poor, anywhere in Western society where the proper conditions exist, react to a marginal position in a class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalistic society, and the way of life that develops among some of the poor is the culture of poverty. These poor become disorganized and non-integrated with the major institutions of the society; the family tends to be mother-centered, and is tied more closely to the mother's extended family. Housing is poor and living conditions are crowded; there is little privacy. Individuals growing up in this culture develop feelings of fatalism, helplessness, and inferiority. They hold a belief in male superiority, and have a strong present-time orientation with little disposition to defer gratification and plan for the future. Getzels (18) states that while the early learning acquired by the middle-class child is *continuous* with what will be required of him in the school, the values, language, information, and method of learning acquired by the lower-class child during his early period are discontinuous with what will be required of him in the school.

Or, as Pease (44) puts it, the middle-class child is "in tune" with the school since there is a continuity of values between the home and the school, while the lower-class child shares no such continuity. Educationally, he is handicapped. When these educationally handicapped children are required to function within the framework of middle-class values, standards, and attitudes found in schools, things such as hard work and delayed rewards, they are handicapped.

Black (6) suggests a number of educational characteristics of the disadvantaged, which he places in four groups – language factors, learning patterns, readiness for instruction, and school behavior. In the first group, *language factors*, he includes six educational characteristics of disadvantaged children: (1) they usually understand more language than they use; (2) they may use many words with fair precision, but these words are not necessarily the words representative of the school culture; (3) they may be crippled in language development because they do not perceive the concept that objects have names and that the same objects may have different names; (4) kindergarten children may use fewer words to express themselves than do children of higher socio-economic class; (5) they may use a smaller proportion of mature sentence structures; and (6) they may learn less from listening than do middle-class children. The second group, *learning patterns*, includes five characteristics: (1) culturally disadvantaged children may tend to learn more readily by inductive than deductive approaches; (2) they may be unaccustomed to "insight building" through external use of lectures and home discussions; (3) they may have few abstract symbols on which to base learning; (4) they may need to see immediately a concrete application of what is learned for sensory and topical satisfaction; (5) they may have poor attention spans. *Readiness for instruction*, the third grouping, includes four characteristics: (1) significant gaps in knowledge and learning; (2) little experience in receiving approval for success in a task; (3) narrow experience outside the home; (4) little concept of relative size. The fourth grouping, *school behavior*, also includes four characteristics: (1) unawareness of "ground rules" for success in school; (2) lack of successful experiences may tend to make these children end the reading cycle before it is begun; (3) timed test situations place them at a marked disadvantage; and (4) little perception of an adult as a person of whom you ask questions and receive answers.

Havighurst (20) also suggests a number of sociological characteristics of the disadvantaged. Certain family characteristics, typical of many middle-class homes, may have been lacking in the disadvantaged child's background: (1) family conversations which answer his questions, encourage him to ask questions, extend his vocabulary, and give him a right and a need to stand up for and explain his point of view; (2) a family environment which sets an example of reading and provides a variety of toys and play materials that challenge him; (3) two parents that read to him, show him that they believe in the value of an education, and reward him for good school achievement. From the standpoint of the social group, the disadvantaged may be found (1) to be at the bottom of American society in terms of income; (2) to have a rural background; (3) to suffer from social and economic discrimination; (4) to be widely distributed in the United States.

Getzels (18) makes the point that the concept of cultural deprivation assumes a middle class culture, and that some children are deprived of experience with *this* culture, not with *all* culture. The term means deprived of middle-class values, not necessarily of good and plentiful values, and of experiences needed to get along in the school as it is currently constituted.

The culturally deprived child is not likely to manifest all of the suggested characteristics of the culturally deprived. There is, however, one factor that seems to be fairly common to a large number of the characteristics suggested above: the type and quantity of verbal experience in the home. Both Havighurst (20) and Getzels (18) cite the theorizing of Basil Bernstein concerning language and social class. The lower class individual is likely to acquire what Bernstein has called a restricted linguistic code, drawn from a narrow range of possibilities. The organizing elements of his speech are simple, and there is considerable dependence on extra-verbal channels of communication such as gestures.

In contrast, the middle-class individual is likely to acquire an elaborated language code, drawn from a wide range of possibilities. The organizing elements of the speech are complex, and there is little reliance on extra-verbal channels of communication. Bernstein (4) indicates that different emphases may be placed on language potential in different classes, which progressively orient the speakers to distinct and different types of relationships to objects and persons, irrespective of the level of measured intelligence. Bernstein believes that the middle-class individual develops a "theoretical attitude" toward the structural possibilities of sentence organization which facilitates elaboration of subjective intent, sensitivity to the implications of separateness and difference, and which points to the possibilities inherent in a complex conceptual hierarchy for the organization of experience. The lower-class individual, on the other hand, may develop a speech form which discourages the speaker from verbally elaborating subjective intent, and which progressively orients the user to descriptive, rather than abstract, concepts. As Getzels (18) points out, the school is primarily concerned with elaborate language codes.

Pease (44) believes that the disadvantaged child learns how *not* to listen. He comes from a home where many people live in small, crowded rooms. Noise is everywhere, but people seldom talk to him except in short sentences and short directive phrases. He does not receive explanations for commands or conditional reasons for what he is told to do. He learns to "tune out" what to him is noise. Hunt (24) holds a somewhat similar view. He believes that crowded conditions may be no real handicap for the infant during his first year of life, since a large number of people living within a limited space may provide the infant wide variations of visual and auditory stimuli that may facilitate his development. But during the second year of life, when the infant begins to throw things and develop locomotion, he may find that he is restricted by adults who are already ill-tempered by their own discomforts. According to Piaget's theory of development, imitation of novel patterns supply a mechanism for learning vocal language, and this mechanism should be well-established during the third year. The variety of linguistic patterns available to the disadvantaged child is limited and the patterns available may not be relevant to the standards which later schooling will require. Parents, preoccupied with the problems associated with poverty, often interpret as senseless prattling the questions of their young child to know "what's that?" They do not think in terms of their child having achieved the "learning set" that "things have names" and needing to broaden his understanding of symbols. The child of these parents may not get answers to his questions.

Thus, lower-class crowded conditions offer little opportunity for the kinds of environmental encounters required to keep the child developing at an optimal rate and in the direction demanded for adaptation to a highly technological culture. Hunt suggests that if this analysis has any validity, it suggests that the child developing in crowded conditions of lower class poverty may do well enough the first year, but that he will begin to show retardation during the second year, and even more retardation during the third, fourth, and fifth years.

This accumulative retardation seems to show up as the child moves through school. Pines (45) indicates that by kindergarten age disadvantaged children have been so starved intellectually that their IQs run some 5 to 15 points below their middle-class peers; and, that with every year in school their IQs continue to sink until they may reach a level some 20 points below that of more privileged children. This "cumulative deficit" has been noted by some writers in the case of Spanish-speaking children. Manuel (33) quotes W. H. Sinninger, of New Mexico Highlands University, as saying that Mexican American pupils in the primary grades perform up to, or near, national norms in achievement, but that they start dropping below the norms in the fourth grade and lose ground in each of the succeeding grades. Tireman (57) reports on an interesting study conducted many years ago in a country school at the edge of Albuquerque, New Mexico. The people of the community were predominantly Spanish-speaking, and 95 percent of the beginning school children spoke little or no English. In an effort to improve the children's verbal abilities, the school adopted a program which placed special emphasis on reading and oral English. Extensive libraries and a large number of teaching aids were also provided. For five years the Gates Primary Reading Test was given annually to grades one and two, the Gates Silent Reading Test to grades three and eight, and the New Stanford Achievement Test, primary form, to grade two, and the advanced form of the Stanford Test was given to grades three through eight. There were 4,963 children involved over the five-year-period. Two control schools whose student population was similar were utilized. The chief difference between the control and pilot test school was the type of the educational program. When the averages of the medians for the five-year period were computed on the various tests, it was found that in all the schools the children in the first and second grades performed close to the norms for English-speaking children. But beginning with the third grade, there was an increasing divergence from normal grade placement so that by the eighth grade this divergence amounted to about one and one-half years in the pilot test school, and as much as four years in the control schools.

Ausubel (2) believes that there are two reasons why the effect of cultural deprivation on intelligence is partly irreversible. First, new growth always proceeds from the existing phenotype, the already actualized capacity, rather than from potentialities inherent in the genotype. Future rates of development are always limited by the attainment of development; and if intellectual endowment is not actualized during the early years the attained deficit which accrues in functional capacity significantly limits the extent to which later environmental stimulation can increase the rate of cognitive growth. Second, the plasticity of the intelligence tends to decrease with increasing age. If intelligence fails to be actualized during the early years due to inadequate stimulation, as the children grow older, other facets of intelligence which are more satisfactorily stimulated become differentially more highly developed. The intelligence becomes committed in other directions, and is less free to respond to an enriched verbal environment. Hence, the possibility for complete reversibility of the environmentally induced retardation in verbal ability decreases as a child advances in age.

Given these various factors concerning cultural deprivation, the question can be raised as to what may be done about them. The recent literature overwhelmingly suggests the provision of some type of early educational experience.

II. The Bases for Early Educational Experience

Two viewpoints support the belief that early educational experience can be used to combat the effects of cultural deprivation. The major viewpoint rests on psychological foundations. There is also an educational viewpoint which draws on the psychological viewpoint for support.

The Psychological Viewpoint

The psychological viewpoint supporting the belief that early educational experience can be used to combat the effects of cultural deprivation rests largely upon the work of Hunt (23). Before considering this viewpoint, it is helpful to review Hunt's synthesis of an extensive body of literature.

As noted in Section Three, Hunt first turns his attention to literature concerning intelligence and development, and emerges with the belief that neither intelligence nor development can any longer be considered as fixed or pre-determined at birth. What emerges instead is the concept of interactionism, in which the characteristics of an individual, including intelligence, are determined from the moment of conception by an ongoing process of interaction between the organism and the environment that surrounds it. Intelligence is not a product of the genotype, which merely acts to set ultimate limits on the development of intelligence. Observed intelligence is, at any given moment, a phenotype, the level of development of which depends not only upon the interaction occuring between the organism and its present environment, but also upon the interaction of the organism with all of the successive environments through which it has passed.

While one cornerstone of Hunt's work is the developmental psychology of Jean Piaget, another cornerstone of his work is the findings of Donald Hebb (see Hunt, 23, 24). Hebb wished to know the neurophysiological basis for the autonomous central processes that, presumably, are established in the associative areas of the brain through early primary learning. He developed the concept of a cell assembly, which corresponds to an image, and concluded that experience is an essential mediator of neural connections permitting these assemblies to form.

Hebb's work prompted empirical studies of early experience on later perceptual and problem-solving capacity. Hebb (see Hunt, 23) found that rats reared in complete darkness for 60 days averaged 129 trials in order to discriminate horizontal from vertical lines, while normal rats needed only 21 trials to learn this discrimination. In later tests, however, the rats were found to behave normally. Cruze (see Hunt, 23) found that even though chicks were kept in the dark, their pecking error per 25 trials decreased through five days, but they failed to attain a high level of accuracy in pecking if they were kept in the dark for 20 consecutive days. Thompson and Heron (Hunt, 23) found that pet-reared dogs demonstrated greater problem-solving ability than cage-reared dogs, and that the early deprivation of the cage-reared dogs appeared to be relatively permanent. The work of Dennis (6, Section Three) indicated that the effects of deprivation of children in orphanages severely retard the development of motor functions. What this and similar evidence indicates to Hunt (23) is that the effects of deprivation increase as one moves up the phylogenetic scale.

Additional work has led Hunt (23) to conceive of brain functioning as analogous to the functioning of an electronic computer. Bruner (9) has indicated that in order to operate effectively in an environment an organism must develop a model of the environment. Such a model conserves information in the form of concepts, and allows the organism to infer beyond the information given. This task is learned gradually at first, but proceeds at an accelerated pace as the organism converts masses of connected or associated events into more highly ordered systems. Thus, without prior learning, the centrifugal control functions are without a program. The organism lacks a basis for predicting that certain events are more likely than others to preclude others, and it has no basis for selectivity toward stimuli. Early deprivation not only robs the organism of the opportunity for constructing models of the environment, but also prevents the development of efficient strategies for evaluating information. A rich sensory environment, on the other hand, permits the development of differentiation of spheres of activity of sensory modalities, and of events within modalities.

Bloom (8) has developed a psychological basis for using early educational experience to combat the effects of cultural deprivation. Bloom reviewed a large number of longitudinal studies concerning the development and stabilization of various human characteristics, and concluded that for each stable characteristic there is a period of relatively rapid growth as well as a period of relatively slow growth. The period of most rapid growth is most likely to be found in the early years, usually before the age of five. Bloom also concluded that the environment is a determiner of the extent and kind of change that takes place in a particular characteristic, and that many of the important influences that can affect the growth of a characteristic are not included in the deprived child's environment until he has already reached a period of less rapid development. Bloom concluded that, in terms of intelligence as measured at age 17, about 50 percent of intellectual development takes place between conception and age four, about 30 percent between the ages of four and eight, and about 20 percent between the ages of eight and 17.

The syntheses of large bodies of data provided by Bloom (8) and Hunt (23) provide major psychological pillars supporting the notion that early educational experience can be used to combat the effects of cultural deprivation. They clearly suggest that intellectual development is the result of the organism's ongoing experience with the environment, which can act to retard or facilitate that development. In addition, they point to the child's early years as the period most crucial for the actualization of his potential, and strongly favor the notion that the provision of enriched experience would be of value in the event that the child's normal environment is impoverished.

The Educational Viewpoint

The educational viewpoint favoring early childhood experience for the culturally deprived seems to be something of a process of elimination. It may begin with a recognition of the "cumulative deficit" phenomena as noted above, or with the recognition that the deprived child's learning is discontinuous with what will be expected of him in the school, as noted by Getzels (18). The literature reviewed in Section Two suggests that the disadvantaged Mexican American child may suffer not only such a discontinuity from home to school due to cultural differences, but that he may also suffer an additional discontinuity with the school if he knows little or no English.

In asking what can be done to remedy this discontinuity, several solutions have been proposed from time to time. One of the older approaches was some form of spatial segregation when the child entered the school at six. This was, however, ruled unconstitutional in 1947 in California, and in 1948 in Texas (see Sanchez, 51). Sanchez also indicates that such segregation was unsound educational policy. Spanish-speaking children learn English best and most quickly when they participate normally in mixed classes with English-speaking students. Sanchez holds it a truism that no student ever learns a foreign language from the classroom teacher alone. Rather, he learns the language from using it naturally in real and varied situations with those who speak the language well. Segregation is not only contrary to the educational principle of the inculcation of democratic ideals, but it may also impress upon Spanish-speaking children that they are somehow different and unfit to be with the children in the regular school.

Another approach, mentioned by the NEA-Tuscon Survey group (37), is to place the

Spanish-speaking child in a special class with other non-English speaking children for a year when he enters school at age six. He is then "promoted" to the first grade the following year. Tireman (57) speaks extensively of such a "prefirst" grade, designed to give the Spanish-speaking child enough verbal fluency in the English language to undertake the normal work of the first grade. But Tireman points out that this policy has the inherent drawback of placing the Spanish-speaking child a full year behind his peers.

A more recent approach has been to provide some type of enriched program after the child enters school. The NEA-Tuscon Survey group (37) discusses a number of such programs. These programs are no doubt of some value (note the study discussed by Tireman, cited above), and may increase in efficiency as new knowledge is gained and new research is undertaken. But some educators are questioning the appropriateness of enriched programs after the child has entered school. It is at this point that the educational viewpoint appears to fall back upon the psychological viewpoint. Educators who question the usefulness of providing enriched programs after the child enters school generally reason that if recent findings concerning intellectual development and early learning have any validity, then enrichment programs after the child enters school may well be too late. Levine (30) writes that the alleviation of the destructive potentials inherent in the malfunctioning of the urban environment and its institutions through curriculum revision is too late and too little. He feels that reconstruction, in the sense of eliminating the conditions of being disadvantaged, is more appropriate. Spodek (54) says that the schools are realizing that they are arriving on the scene of development too late and providing too little to effect significant change. And Manuel (34) has written:

> *. . . For many children, beginning at five or six is too late . . . Intelligence is not something fully grown at birth ready to burst in full power at any age regardless of previous experience. It must grow from year to year, and the opportunities for growth in the early years are extremely significant . . . For these children we must reach down to the four-year-old and perhaps even the three-year-old.*

Thus, the literature suggests that the provision of early educational experience for the disadvantaged child, including any Mexican American child who may also be disadvantaged, is both psychologically and educationally sound.

III. The Effectiveness of Early Educational Experience

A few programs that have provided early educational experience for Mexican American children have been assessed in the literature. The Texas Education Agency (56) has provided an assessment of the Preschool Instructional Program for Non-English-Speaking Children during the first three summers of its operation (1960, 1961, 1962). This program was authorized by House Bill 51 of the 56th Legislature for the purpose of preparing non-English-speaking children for entry into the first grade with a command of English words essential for communicating and receiving instruction. The program was scheduled for not less than 120 hours each summer. A questionnaire was designed and sent to all school districts that had participated in the 1960 and 1961 summer programs. Of the 143 districts involved, 123 returns were received, involving 16,532 children or 98 percent of the children enrolled in the 1961 program. Of these children, 14,608, or 88 percent, entered the first grade at the beginning of the school year 1961-62. Of these 14,608 children, 14,097 or 90 percent attended school throughout the school year. Approximately 9,929 or 76 percent of the children who attended school throughout the year completed the first grade successfully and were promoted to the second grade. By contrast, only 18 percent of the non-English-speaking children enrolled in the first grade in 1961-1962 who did not participate in the Preschool Program were promoted to the second grade. In addition, 51.7 percent of the children enrolled in the Preschool Program during the summer of 1960 completed the second grade in May, 1962, and were promoted to the third grade.

Poulos (46) reports on a pre-school program for Mexican American children that was conducted by the Odessa, Texas, schools. This program involved 193 children. Its goals included teaching the children 620 frequently-used English words and 63 common expressions, as well as helping them learn to speak in complete sentences and to adjust to the routine of school life. No research design was provided to measure the value of the program, but after completing the program all of the children were placed in the regular first grade program instead of a pre-first grade, and it appeared that 90 percent would enter the second grade. Many of the children were speaking as many as 600 words at the end of the program. However, the author believes that the most notable success of the program was the eagerness and the enthusiasm with which the children responded to and conversed with people who visited their classroom.

Another pre-school summer program involving 25 Mexican American children is discussed by Sister Jean-Marie (27). Some of the objectives of the program included teaching the children an oral vocabulary of 600 frequently used words and 60 common expressions, as well as teaching them to speak in simple sentences and to adjust to the school routine. The author states that the children evidenced significant gains as measured by the Metropolitan Readiness Test, and that their drawing abilities improved. However, the author believes that the greatest significance of the program was each child's discovery of his unique value as a person and his responsibility toward his peers.

From the evidence available, it appears that early educational experience for disadvantaged Mexican American children is reasonably effective. However, more research is needed which involves programs that are carefully assessed and reported.

IV. Curriculum and Methods: Some General and Theoretical Considerations

Getzels (18) believes that there are basically three types of programs for culturally deprived children. First, the program that assumes that the deficiencies of the culturally deprived child are more superficial than fundamental and more a matter of quantity than of kind. This type of program, therefore, holds that supplementary pre-school experiences are needed. The second program type assumes that the culturally deprived child's deficiencies reside in the lack of familiarity with school-related objects and activities, and that the child needs experiences that are predominantly academic-preparatory. The third type of program assumes that the environment has caused the culturally deprived child to become fundamentally different from his middle-class peers in self-concept, language, values, and perceptual processes and that he needs specialized programs to counteract environmental effects. Pines (45) discusses a number of ways various investigators have attempted to implement programs of one type or another, and these methods appear to amount to either a "high pressure" or "low pressure" approach. The "high pressure" approach is exemplified by the preschool programs run by Carl Bereiter and Siegfried Engelmann (see Pines, 45) at the University of Illinois. In this approach, the play-orientated nursery school is rejected, and much drill is employed while focusing attention on a few selected areas.

Ausubel (3), an advocate of programmed instruction, believes that an effective teaching strategy for the culturally deprived must emphasize three concepts. First, initial learning material must be geared to the learner's existing state of readiness, no matter how far down the scale this happens to be. This requires the rigid elimination of whatever subject matter the child cannot assimilate economically on the basis of his current level of cognitive sophistication. Second, there must be a mastery and consolidation of all ongoing learning tasks before new learning tasks are introduced in order to provide the foundation for successful sequential learning tasks. This requires overlearning, which is built upon adequately spaced reviews and repetition. Third, structured learning materials optimally organized should be used to facilitate sequential learning. Thus each attained increment in learning provides the foundation for the next step in an ordered learning sequence. Ausubel recommends that the educator ignore the child's current motivational state and concentrate on teaching the child as effectively as possible; the child will learn despite his lack of motivation, and the pleasure of this learning will motivate him to learn more.

The "low pressure" approach tends to set the stage so that the child may effectively teach himself. It is exemplified by the work of O. K. Moore (see Pines, 45) who, with his talking typewriter, has taught children at early ages to read, write, and compose poetry. In this approach, the child is completely free to explore in his own way the "responsive environment" that has been constructed. The "low pressure" approach is also exemplified by the method of Maria Montessori, which will be mentioned below. In the "high pressure" approach, the classroom is teacher-dominated; in the "low pressure" approach the classroom is pupil-centered. A given program for the culturally deprived child may find itself anywhere on a continuum between these two approaches. However, whatever type of program is adopted or whatever type of approach is used, there is a theoretical consideration which may determine the success or failure of the program and the approach. Hunt (23) terms this "the problem of the match."

The Problem of the Match

As noted, Ausubel (3) believes that the learning material must be geared to the learner's existing state of readiness. The Office of Economic Opportunity (40) also indicates that the educator should start from where the child is. Hunt (23) notes that Piaget hints at the principle that only when there is an appropriate match between the circumstances encountered by the child and the schemata that he has already assimilated do environmental circumstances force accommodative modifications in the schemata. This, holds Hunt, is only another statement of the principle that "teaching must start where the learner is." A discrepancy between central processes and a circumstance beyond the limits of an organism's capacity for accommodation apparently results in distress and avoidance, while a discrepancy within the limits of an organism's capacity for accommodation is a source of curiosity and pleasurable interest. Whether or not circumstances will influence the organism appears to be a function of whether or not the organism has developed any schemata relevant to the circumstances which can be accommodatively modified by them. Boredom may result from a perfect match, and withdrawal from a match that is too incongruous. Since a proper level of incongruity produces pleasure, there is little need to worry about "pushing children" if the match is right. This suggests to Hunt that there is some optimum level of incongruity for each child, and that maximizing the richness of an environment calls for a continual concern for the appropriateness of the match. Since the child himself is the only one who can truly determine the appropriateness of the match, the child needs some opportunity to follow his own bent.

In searching for a teaching method that will allow the child to determine to some extent the appropriateness of the match between his assimilated schemata and his environmental encounters, Hunt (26) recommends the methods of Maria Montessori. He believes that Montessori emphasized six concepts that were dissonant with the theories of fixed intelligence, predetermined development, and the psycho-analytic theory of development: first, that school experiences for three-and four-year-olds could be significant for later development; second, that mental retardation was a defect calling for pedagogical treatment; third, that children could be educated in reading, writing, and counting at an early age; fourth, that education could be based upon a child's "spontaneous interest" in learning; fifth, that sensory learning was important; sixth, that the role of the teacher was that of observer-helper. Hunt sees the problem of the match as reinforcing Montessori's notion of a child's spontaneous interest in learning, for if the match confronts the child with an incongruity within his capacity for accommodation, then there will be continuous cognitive growth with joy. Gardner (17) points out that Montessori's training usually begins at the stage that Piaget has called the pre-operational, which involves a change in the child's perception in which there is deployment of attention from the most obvious aspect of the stimulus field to variously adaptively relevant aspects of the field. This change is brought about through the use of symbols which appear in a primitive manner at this point. Although this is the beginning of a mastery of interrelationships among symbols required for formal operations, Piaget points out that the child can manipulate transformations and other mental operations only if he manipulates objects concretely. Gardner feels that Montessori intuitively struck upon this formulation by her emphasis on sensory training.

What Should the Preschool Provide ?

From the standpoint of Piagetian theory, Sonquist and Kamii (53) believe that the preschool should provide a transition from sensori-motor intelligence to conceptual intelligence. To effect this, they believe that the preschool needs to work along two dimensions: symbolization (the development of pre-verbal symbols, and words) and the mastery of elementary types of relationships (such as grouping and ordering and spatio-temporal relationships.) They believe that one means of achieving both of these dimensions is through sociodramatic play. Berson (5) also recommends dramatic play. Blackie (7) also emphasizes that through play young children discover the nature of materials, begin to form concepts of the physical world, and learn words.

Language stimulation is one of the most important types of stimulation that Deutsch (14) believes the preschool should provide. He also believes that the preschool should provide memory training, since there will be a certain retardation in the development of memory systems if language is not a major element in the child-adult interaction. The development of perceptual mechanisms is another area for preschool enrichment, according to Deutsch, since the lack of artifacts in the environment and the absence or reduction of language training within the home can lead to a deficiency in the development of visual and auditory modalities. Olson and Larson (43) believe that the preschool should provide for the development of language skills, self-image, social skills, and an awareness of cultural patterns of behavior. They believe that development in these areas may be accomplished through the frequent utilization of field trips.

King (28) reports on a demonstration project for the disadvantaged bilingual child that utilized a multisensory media approach to facilitate the development of lingual freedom and fluency in a bilingual setting. The central bilingual theme of a lesson unit was the picture story and all of its variations, such as role playing, pantomime, puppetry, musical adaptations, etc. All of the children's senses were utilized. Taped reproductions of actual sounds were used to reinforce meaning and spoken communication. Focus on the other senses was directed at giving meaning to an unknown language and culture. The children smelled, tasted, and touched the objects under discussion. Language was taught through game-pattern drill. Manning concludes that formal language programs may be successfully implemented in kindergarten classrooms. Koenig (29) on the other hand, reports the facilitation of English language development in bilingual children through the use of inkblots. Whatever the method, however, the literature apparently emphasizes the need to provide for the early language development of the bilingual child.

Pines, (45) points out that all preschool programs that have had some success in providing disadvantaged children with the skills that they will need in school appear to share three traits.

First, they deliberately plan sequences that will lead the children to specific educational goals. Second, they realize that time is their most precious commodity, and that every activity must be selected for its maximum contribution to learning. Third, their teachers work with small groups or individual children; rarely do they work with the class as a whole.

V. The Teacher

Goldberg (19) believes that there is no such thing as the universally "good" teacher; rather, there are a variety of "good" teachers whose temperaments and training differentially suit them to teach differing groups of students. Disadvantaged children represent a describable pupil population who are in need of teachers uniquely "good" for them. Since Goldberg feels that there is no systematic data on what teachers of the disadvantaged do, he constructs a hypothetical model of the successful teacher of the disadvantaged. This teacher, according to Goldberg, respects his students, not as a romantic gesture, but because he realistically sees them as struggling to survive in the ruthless world of their peers. He is a student, not a judge, of the alien culture from which the children come. He understands their background, their values, their home life, their family structures. He will recognize the functional quality of the children's language, even if it is not acceptable English. He knows that learning comes not merely from native ability but also from total experience, and will accept test scores as valid measures of the children's present academic ability, while rejecting them as measures of their native ability. He is orderly, strict, and undeviating, but also warm and outgoing, and never punitive. He is aware of the dangers of the "self-fulfilling prophecy," and expects more of each child than the child thinks he can produce, but does not set standards so high as to cause frustration. He is always honest. He does not pretend that a pupil's work is good when it is not, but he always rewards each tiny step upward with honest praise. He is something of a showman, breathing interest into the student's work, and he has an extensive knowledge of what he teaches. Summed up in one phrase, he has the quality of ordered flexibility.

In a similar vein, Riessman (49) believes that teachers of the poor should be trained in at least five ways. First, they must be trained to respect the disadvantaged and their families by developing interest in psychology and the culture of the disadvantaged. Second, they need to be trained to understand *what* to look at, and *how* to look at the culture of the disadvantaged. Third, they need to be taught appropriate methods of working with the poor, such as being direct and straightforward, and clearly defining what is to be done. Fourth, they need to be provided with teaching techniques appropriate for low-income children, such as the Montessori system, game techniques, and role playing. Fifth, their various teacher styles, their idiosyncratic potentials, should be developed instead of relying on the stereotype of the average, well-adjusted teacher.

Manuel (35) believes that the good teacher of Spanish-speaking children needs the same basic qualifications as other good teachers: superior native ability, mastery of subject matter, broad general education, an understanding of human nature, dedication to the work, and the like. However, the teacher of Spanish-speaking children must meet certain special needs. First, teachers of the Spanish-speaking should be bilingual. This is also a conclusion of Noreen (38) and of the NEA-Tuscon Survey group (37). Manuel (35) feels that in training teachers for schools in the Southwest, attention should be given to the characteristics of disadvantaged people in general and to the cultural traits of the Spanish-speaking people. Thus, the teacher of the Spanish-speaking should also know and appreciate the culture of the Spanish-speaking. Other writers such as Noreen (38), Galbraith (16), and Chavez and Erickson (11) concur on this point.

The Office of Economic Opportunity (39) offers some useful suggestions concerning the pupil-teacher ratio. This Office believes that there should be a teacher in charge of each group of 15 children. In addition, each group of 15 preschool children should have at least one assistant teacher. If a center operates throughout a full day, two assistant teachers are needed because of the long hours. Goldberg (19) believes that teachers will vary in their effectiveness depending upon the characteristics of the pupils they face, the content they teach, the opportunity they have to fulfill their expectations for themselves and their pupils, and the extent to which the school provides them with what they perceive to be necessary facilitations. It seems unlikely that the teacher could adequately fulfill his expectations for himself and his students if, for example, he is required to take charge of too large a group of preschool disadvantaged children.

VI. The Parents and the Community

The Office of Economic Opportunity (41) points out that there should be a great deal of interaction between parents and those who care for their children away from home. When a child enters school, teachers assume that parents have provided for his well-being and fostered his learning experiences. This may not be the case always with deprived children. Abraham (1) points out that few children can derive any good from their education if their parents are unaware of education's benefits. Deutsch (14) mentions that it is very important to give parents an insight into what is expected in the school, and to make them aware that it is important that the child be permitted to be a participant in the language interaction in the home. They also should be aware that the child needs to be given a certain degree of individualization, attention, and reinforcement. Yet, as the Office of Economic Opportunity (41) indicates, the complexities of modern life make contacts with the parents fewer and less satisfying. In addition, many parents feel that the school is interested in the family only when the child has done something wrong, and they hesitate to take the initiative to contact either the teacher or the school. The Office of Economic Opportunity believes that this trend may be most easily reversed at the preschool level.

The importance of involving the parent as well as the child in the preschool program seems to be emphasized by the literature dealing with parental influence on the child's cognitive development. Freeberg and Payne (15) find through their review of the literature that children of superior intellectual ability come from homes where parental interest in their intellectual development is evidenced by pressure to succeed and the assistance in doing so, particularly in the development of verbal skills. They conclude that the verbal patterns established by the parents play a critical role in the child's intellectual development. These verbal patterns are influenced by the manner or style of communicating information to the child, verbal stimulation and opportunities for the child's verbal activity, and availability of books or other devices that can supply a wide range of opportunity for language usage. Many of the social class distinctions which consistently have been found in intellectual development are likely to center around parental stimulation of the development of language skills as the mediating variable.

Hess (22) conducted an experiment in which mothers were taught two simple sorting tasks and a drawing task, then asked to teach these tasks to their four-year-old children. The mothers were divided into groups ranging in socio-economic status from professional to unskilled occupational levels, from those who lived in private housing to those in public housing. Some of the mothers included were dependent on public assistance for their children, with the family structure disrupted by the absence of the father. Some mothers gave explicit information about the task, offered support and help of various kinds, and made it clear that she impelled the child to perform. Others relied more on physical signs and non-verbal communication, did not define the task for the child, and did not tell the child what to expect. Teaching styles of mothers in the unskilled working class tended to be socializing, reflecting passive attitudes toward the child's learning which discouraged his curiosity, imagination, and assertiveness. The study identified three aspects of successful teaching in these interaction situations: (1) the mother must provide the child with the tags or symbols for important features of the lesson she hopes to teach; (2) the mother must monitor the communication exchange to discover if the child has correctly decoded the message; (3) the mother must motivate the child to engage in the learning process by either rewards or punishment. Hess concluded that mother-child interaction is a basic feature of early learning that rehabilitation efforts cannot ignore.

Involving the parents seems to be important, and several authors have made suggestions as to how this may be done. The Office of Economic Opportunity (41, 42) suggests that qualified parents can be employed as part or full-time employees or as volunteers. Abraham (1), in speaking of the bilingual child and his parents, suggests clubs for room mothers, home visitations by teachers who speak the language of the parents, an occasional school open house, and bulletin boards placed strategically around the school and the neighborhood containing items close to the lives of the adults of the community.

Cahn (10) reports on a program in which four to 14 mothers aided the teacher daily in working with a class of preschool Mexican American youngsters. They helped the children learn where things were and how to get to the bathroom. They sculpted, painted, and engaged in other activities with their children. Fathers who were unable to visit the classroom were shown slides of classroom activities. In this particular project, the only children who did not improve dramatically were those whose parents did not participate regularly in the project with their children.

Dolan and Nevarez (12) report on a family circle program, developed with the parents of Mexican American high school children, which may have implications for preschool children. Family members were given copies of specially adapted classics of high interest but low vocabulary level, and each reading member of a family took turns reading a few sentences during a reading session. Each family determined the time for its sessions. Nevarez found that students who had previously been unwilling to read aloud in their English classes were willing to do so after having been members of a family reading circle. He attributes part of the success of the family reading circle plan to extensive home visits, however.

Parental attitudes toward themselves and the school can be important. The Office of Economic Opportunity (42) believes that a program of parent participation can provide opportunities for parents to recognize the qualities that they possess, understand and appreciate how children grow and learn, how learning can be extended into the home, increase knowledge of community resources and how they can be used to improve family living, and gain an understanding of the value of parent-school relationships.

VII. Are Summer Preschools Too Little and Too Late?

This review has discussed preschool programs of limited duration for disadvantaged children, including those of Mexican descent. The programs were usually held during the summer prior to entrance into first grade. However, there is question of whether or not these preschool programs are themselves too little and too late. Manuel (33) has written:

> *. . . A summer school program preceding enrollment in the first grade helps, but it is not enough. Five hundred English words are better than none, but they are not equivalent to two or three thousand. Three months can add something to a child's experience, but they cannot make up for six years of privation (p. 191).*

Sanchez (50) has also commented on the 40-60-day summer session:

> *. . . It is abundantly self-evident that the extension of good education downward is good for all children and that one should expect children who are fortunate enough to get a preschool preparation for the first grade to make better progress, at least during the first few years. It stretches credulity, however, when it is alleged that a few weeks of vocabulary building during the summer can substitue for the extra one, two, or more years that (by implication) a Spanish-speaking child otherwise would have to spend in the first grade! (p. 17)*

Scott (52) asks if disadvantaged children are to have Head Start before home start. He points out that the critical stages of learning, including the earliest inception of the motivation to learn, have already transpired before a disadvantaged child enrolls in a compensatory program. Since there is a general emotional unreadiness to participate in activities outside the home until the child is between 36 and 45 months of age, the logical conclusion is to provide within the home various play materials which may constitute "aliments" for the spontaneous intellectual activity of these children. For the immediate future, Manuel (33) concludes that the minimum essential is clearly a public, prefirst grade for all five-year-olds. Manuel (34) also feels, that the greatest need of children seriously disadvantaged by poverty and of children who must learn a second language outside the home is the opportunity to begin their learning at the lowest age at which formal education may be effectively offered.

PART FIVE

Brief Descriptions of a Number of Projects, Current, May 1968

New Haven Unified School District
Union City, California 94587
Cognitive-Verbal Learning Using English, Spanish, and Bilingual Instruction with Mexican American Head Start Children
Principal Investigator: Miss Lisa Barclay

This experimental investigation is designed to test the relative efficacy of a cognitive-verbal learning approach utilizing either the English or Spanish language or both in preparing Mexican American children for school. Bilingual and Spanish-speaking children participating in a Head Start summer program will be randomly divided into four treatment groups. One group will receive cognitive-verbal training using Spanish only, while another group will use English only. A third group will use Spanish and English equally, and a fourth group will receive a placebo treatment which will consist of simply reading to the group in English. All children will participate in the normal Head Start program except that they will meet daily for the treatment procedures. Curriculum materials will be developed which will focus on major concepts of identity, spatial relationship, relative size and quantity, time, form, quality, and positive and negative attributes. At the conclusion of the program the children in each of the groups will be tested on the English and the locally-developed Spanish versions of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test and the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities. Results of tests administered at the end of the summer program and at the end of the kindergarten year will be analyzed. In addition, the comparative holding power of the cognitive-verbal approach will be compared to the traditional nursery school approach generally used in Head Start programs.

Relevant Material: Contact the Principal Investigator.

The New Nursery School
1203 4th Street
Greeley, Colorado 80631
Director: Dr. Glen Nimnicht
Head Teacher: Mrs. Oralie McAfee

The New Nursery School for three-and four-year-old disadvantaged Spanish American children combines O. K. Moore's responsive environment concept with Deutsch's enriched nursery school program for culturally deprived children. The School also utilizes some of Montessori's techniques. The School has four primary objectives: (1) to develop a positive self-image; (2) to increase sensory and perceptual acuity; (3) to develop cognitive skills; (4) to improve language skills. Children are engaged in three-hour sessions daily, and most of their time is spent in self-directing activities. About 15 minutes a day are spent in group activities,in which the child does not have to participate if he does not wish to do so. Children are encouraged to learn for the sake of learning rather than for extrinsic rewards. The School is "self-directed" and "self-rewarding" – the child is not "taught" anything; an effort is made to give the child a method of learning by himself.

A crucial part of the program is the use of an *autotelic responsive environment.* Two responsive environment booths serve 30 children daily. These booths contain the "talking typewriter" as originally conceived by O. K. Moore. Trained booth assistants are available to help the children. Children play with the standard electric typewriters as long as 20 minutes a day. Free exploration of the keyboard leads to matching sounds and symbols, typing words, and writing stories.

The staff includes one teacher for every five children. The entire environment is geared to respond to the child. Teachers do not initiate conversation with the children, but respond to child-initiated conversation. Much stress is placed upon precise use of language in order to provide an adequate speech model for the child. The sentence is always used as the basic unit of speech. The category or classification is included in the sentence when possible. Specific descriptive words are used rather than non-specific relative pronouns and other overly-general terms. Accuracy in referring to size, weight, and height is emphasized.

Basically, the New Nursery School is testing two hypotheses: (1) that the children who attend the experimental nursery school will perform significantly better in school than they would have if they had not attended the school; (2) that the same responsive environment approaches used with deprived children will also improve the achievement of non-deprived children. To test the first hypothesis, the School will use standardized tests and new methods of testing being developed in order to keep track of the children for a 10-year period. To test the second hypothesis, a similar school has been established whose students come from families who can afford to pay tuition. In addition, a teacher training program for Head Start teachers is in progress.

Relevant Material: See especially the following articles:

Cracraft, Jane, "Greeley's New Nursery School," *Contemporary, The Sunday Denver Post,* March 12, 1967. pp. 18+. (Reprint available from the School).

McAfee, Oralie, "The Right Words," *Young Children,* November, 1967. Vol. 23, pp. 74-78.

Nimnicht, Glen, "Low-cost Typewriter Approach Helps Preschoolers Type Words and Stories," *Nation's Schools,* December, 1967. Vol. 80, pp. 34-37.

Nimnicht, Glen, and Meier, John, "A First Year Partial Progress Report of a Project in an Autotelic Responsive Environment Nursery School for Environmentally Deprived Spanish American Children," *Journal of Research Services;* Greeley, Colorado: Colorado State College, June, 1966. Vol. 5, pp. 3-34. This article contains an extensive bibliography.

Also available from the New Nursery School are two mimeographed sheets, dated January, 1968, listing published materials on the New Nursery School. In addition, the School now has available three films for either rent or purchase. The first, *Introduction to the New Nursery School,* depicts how the School goes about achieving its four objectives. The second, *The New Nursery School: The Learning Booths,* describes the responsive environment and the "talking typewriters" as utilized by the school. The third, *The New Nursery School: Intellectual Development of Young Children,* demonstrates methods for helping the disadvantaged child establish, maintain, and extend concepts to other situations. Order forms are available from the School.

Project Head Start
811 15th Street
Greeley, Colorado
Director: Mr. Keith Blue, Director of Early Childhood
Education, Greeley Public Schools

This Project Head Start program offers a half-day, full-year program to 160 four-and five-year old children, of which 75 percent are Spanish-speaking. The main goals are to develop concept formation, vocabulary, experimental background, and the self-concept.

The program utilizes an eclectic, non-directive, permissive approach. Concepts are taught through body movements, manipulation of concrete objects, use of a variety of art materials, and the encouragement of self-expression. The curriculum is non-symbolic in the sense that it utilizes no usual academic paper and pencil work. Classes are taught in English.

Teachers are assisted by one paid aide and one volunteer aide for each teacher. The aides are typically Spanish-speaking. A wide range of activities if also offered to the parents, including sewing groups and informal gatherings in which such topics as nutrition and homemaking are discussed.

Relevant Materials: Contact the Director of the program.

University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan
Bilingual Curriculum Development Program
Director: Mr. Ralph Robinett

Six hundred students, ranging from preschool level through grade 12 are involved in this statewide bilingual project. The goals of the program are to develop and encourage the use of ESOL-SESD materials and procedures for linguistically handicapped children and to develop and encourage the implementation of programs in standard Spanish as a second language. The goals are sought through producing teacher guides in English and in Spanish, conducting local inservice training of teachers, and providing consultant services.

Instructional materials are ESOL-SESD type materials, including an ESOL-SESD Guide at the kindergarten level. Instructional techniques include imitation drills, substitution drills, transformation drills, and other cue-controlled oral language practices. Participating teachers are regular classroom teachers selected on the basis of interest in working with the linguistically handicapped. Inservice education activities include problem analysis, applied linguistics, and techniques for evaluation.

Relevant Material: Contact the Program Director.

Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory
120 Vassar Avenue S. E.
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106
Executive Director: Dr. Paul V. Petty

The Oral Language Program of the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory involves approximately 240 first grade and preschool children. Children participating in the program all have Spanish-speaking home environments, and are almost entirely non-English-speaking. The goal of the program is to create and adapt innovative linguistic oral language materials for use with specific Southwestern cultural groups where English is not the native language of the student entering the first grade.

The Oral Language Program is based on structured lesson plans which use appropriate patterns for developing oral English proficiency and which utilize small group instruction. The participating schools devote one-half hour each day to the structured Oral Language Program. Teacher aides are utilized in order to release the teacher to instruct the small group during the half-hour period.

Relevant Material: Contact the Executive Director of the Laboratory.

Good Samaritan Center
1600 Saltillo St.
San Antonio, Texas 78207
Director: Constance N. Swander
Co-Director: Gladys R. Blankenship

The Preschool Program for Spanish-Speaking Children conducted at the Good Samaritan Center is based upon the belief that the child's language deprivation is the main educational handicap causing most of the other handicaps he experiences. Therefore, great emphasis is placed upon remedying the child's language and conceptual deficiencies and upon developing those skills which are most relevant to success in school. The main innovation in the program is that it is a planned program of language teaching with clearly defined objectives and carefully-developed lesson plans designed to accomplish the goals.

There are separate classes for three-year-olds, four-year-olds, and five-year-olds, but enrollment must start at age three. There are only 16 children in each class under one supervising teacher and one assistant teacher. Eighty percent of the instruction during the first year is in Spanish. The Center is now engaged in pilot-testing the Early Childhood Education Program of the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.

The curriculum is designed to increase the sophistication of the child's communication processes, and utilizes a multi-sensory approach which progresses from experiences in perception to experiences in discrimination. The program is academically oriented and thus represents a departure from traditional nursery school curriculum. In addition, a parent education program has been added to the program during the past year, designed to involve the parents in the educational process. Parental meetings with a staff member twice a month provide the parents with opportunities to learn improved child-rearing practices, to observe teacher-child interactions, and to discuss the role of child and adult.

Relevant material: *Interim Progress Report, February, 1968,* prepared by Shari E. Nedler, Psychologist. This report provides an introduction to the program, and outlines the classroom structure, the curriculum, and the parent program. In addition, the first of four projected film strips describing the program is now available. This film strip, entitled *The Crucial Years,* includes information concerning the recent research findings for preschool education, an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the educationally advantaged and disadvantaged homes, the value of bilingual skills, the rationale of the Good Samaritan Center preschool program, and demonstration language lessons. An order form for the film strip and its accompanying 30-minute record is available from the Center.

St. Paul's Episcopal School
1626 East Taft
Brownsville, Texas 78520
Headmaster: Mr. James Larick

St. Paul's Episcopal School is a bilingual school for children between the ages of three and six. Its pupils include children of Mexican descent who have Spanish as a first language and Negro and Anglo American children who have English as a first language. The goals of the school are: (1) to help the children learn their first language better, while simultaneously obtaining a coordinate control of a second language; (2) to try to prepare the child for entry into the public school program by age six by giving him a reading (and possibly writing) command of both languages, along with basic mathematical concepts; (3) to introduce the child to experiences outside his normal environment along with bilingual vocabulary to accompany such experiences; (4) to give all of the children as full an appreciation as possible of their heritage and culture; (5) to involve the children's parents, relations, and neighbors in programs centering about the school and its activities.

The curriculum consists of free play; group activity consisting of games, stories, talks with special classroom visitors, films, language classes, and arithmetic; and outdoor play and field trips. Pupils are provided snacks and meals. Classes are divided into forms, which are determined by the degree of progress of the students. There are 15 in each class for the First Formers (three-year-olds and other beginning students), and 20 in each class of Middle and Upper Formers. Each class is staffed by a teacher, a teacher aide, and a different classroom volunteer each day of the week. A male adult is included on the staff for each class.

Teacher aides may be either high school graduates or dropouts. These aides are given special training in child growth and development, in working with culturally different children, in record-keeping and preparation of classroom materials, in cultural anthropology and linguistics, and in basic education methods and techniques. High school dropouts are required to return to high school in order to be qualified for teacher aide work. Classroom volunteers are the fathers and mothers of the children, or other mature adults. The school also provides a Home-School Coordinator, trained as a professional social service worker.

The school also provides classes for adults in English, Spanish, and basic educational skills in preparation for citizenship and high school equivalency tests. The concept is to involve those whose attitudes influence the educational aspirations of the children. The school is also a gathering place for community meetings and activities.

Relevant Material: Mimeographed sheets entitled "A Bilingual School for Children Between Ages of Three and Six," dated September 1, 1967. Also available are mimeographed sheets outlining the schedule for Form 1, Forms 2 and 3, dated March 17, 1968.

San Antonio Independent School District
Elementary Division
141 Lavaca Street
San Antonio, Texas 78210
Preschool Program
Director: Mrs. Katie Jones

This program, which includes 102 classes in 32 schools, serves 1,917 children of which 75 percent are Mexican American. The primary objectives of the program are to provide the environment and varied experiences that will allow the children to: (1) learn to work and play independently; (2) learn to live effectively with other children; (3) develop self-identity and a sense of worth and competence; (4) sharpen and widen language skills; (5) strengthen physical and motor skills; (6) realize opportunities to strive and succeed in physical, intellectual, and social areas; (7) develop a favorable attitude toward the school; (8) awaken curiosity. Good school attendance is promoted by providing adequate medical services.

The curriculum areas stressed include language development, social studies, science, mathematics, art, music, and play. Spanish-speaking children study the English language, but efforts are directed toward bilingualism and improving self-concepts. Classes operate on a half-day schedule.

The pupil-teacher ratio is no greater than 20 to one. In addition, parents are involved in the program through classroom visitations, individual conferences, and monthly PTA meetings. Nurses contact parents for the health needs of the children.

Relevant Material: Contact the Program Director.

Southwest Educational Development Laboratory
Suite 550, Commodore Perry Hotel
Austin, Texas 78701
Language-Bilingual Education Program
Director: Dr. Elizabeth Ott

The 4,560 pupils involved in this program range from the kindergarten level through the fourth grade. The program is an outgrowth of research in language development for disadvantaged Spanish-speaking children which Dr. T. D. Horn, University of Texas, directed. Research, first begun in 1964, continues, and the program now operates in the San Antonio area, the McAllen-Edinburg area, and in New York City.

The goals of the program are: (1) to develop, pilot test, and refine a curriculum in language and reading for the elementary grade which will equip children of the target population with communication skills in a standard English dialect through which they will be able to participate successfully in the academic setting. Skills will also be developed in the native language, thereby providing a sound bilingual education; (2) to make the program available through demonstration and dissemination to schools serving populations which have similar characteristics and needs. The use of technology to facilitate and accelerate learning will be explored as the materials are more fully developed.

To accomplish these goals, the program plans to (1) produce curriculum materials for a bilingual and bidialectic language program (Spanish, French, English), grades Pre-K through 6, which will develop skills in using the oral and written forms of the languages; (2) validate the curriculum materials at various stages of development at several pilot test sites; (3) train a corps of teachers to pilot test the curriculum materials; (4) provide consultative and supervisory assistance to local districts serving as pilot test sites; (5) assist other laboratory programs in developing appropriate techniques for demonstrating the curriculum.

Individual pupil progress is developmental and geared to the learning rate of the pupil. Predetermined standards for "pass-fail" are not used as a basis for promotion. Pupils move progressively through learning experiences sequenced for gradual but systematic development of concepts and language. Instruction in Spanish is given in subject fields, and time allotments are equated with English instruction. Extensive modification of curriculum is made to insure cognitive development through real, concrete experiences and to provide language symbolization of these experiences and concepts. Linguistic considerations include special language interference between English and Spanish. Many specialized materials are designed and developed to provide sound bilingual education and to insure the success of the pupils.

Relevant Material: Contact the Program Director.

Southwest Educational Development Laboratory
Suite 550, Commodore Perry Hotel
Austin, Texas 78701
Texas Migrant Educational Development Center
Director: Dr. José A. Cárdenas

This program involves 85,000 migrants, from three years of age up to, and including, adults. The goals of the program are to develop (1) new instructional methods and techniques based on research and adapted to the unique backgrounds and needs of migrant students; (2) new instructional materials systematically designed, tested, and refined through cycles based on research and evaluation and (3) new staff development programs to prepare teachers and teachers of teachers in the application of new methods of instruction and use of new materials.

At the request of the Texas Education Agency, a study has been conducted by the Center to evaluate the Texas migrant education program now in operation. The Center will also initiate research, evaluation, and planning in order to supply relevant information needed to improve planning processes. The Center will also propose alternatives which may be adapted to meet differing economic, social, and political requirements. The Center will begin the development of valid and reliable tests and other instruments for measuring cognitive development, self-concept, and social adjustment of migrant pupils, and will initiate prototype staff development programs. As the program of the Center develops, provisions will be made for training key state education agency staff, selected local school district personnel, Regional Education Service Center personnel, and selected teacher educators from colleges and universities.

Both rural and urban schools are in the program. A variety of student groupings will be tested, including separate schools for migrants, separate classrooms for migrants, separate programs in combined classrooms, and individualized programs in combined situations. The program will also develop materials and methodology for highly individualized instruction, and modify existing classroom materials.

Relevant Materials: Contact the Program Director.

Texas Education Agency
Migrant and Preschool Programs
Division of Compensatory Education
Austin, Texas 78711
Preschool Instructional Program for Non-English-Speaking Children
Director: Lee C. Frasier

The Preschool Instructional Program for Non-English-Speaking Children was authorized by House Bill 51 of the 56th Texas Legislature. This Act provided for the financing of instructional units from the Minimum Foundation School Program in public school districts or combination of school districts which have received approval for such a preschool program from the Texas Education Agency. The purpose of the program is to prepare non-English-speaking children for entry into the first grade with command of a vocabulary of essential English words needed for communicating and receiving instruction from the teacher.

A child eligible for the program is one who will reach the age of six on or before September 1 of the ensuing school year, and who will at that time be eligible for initial enrollment in the first grade. He must also be one who does not speak and understand the common English language words that are necessary for normal progress in the first grade of Texas schools. One instructional unit is allocated for 15 eligible children enrolled, and each additional instructional unit is based on 20 eligible pupils in average daily attendance, over and above the 15 used in allocation of the first unit. Programs are to be operated for a period of 40, 50, or 60 days between the close of one school year and the opening of the subsequent year. Programs are to operate on a four-hour daily schedule, and each child is to receive a minimum of two hours of instruction each day and a minimum of 120 hours for the summer program. Individuals assigned to the program are to be elementary teachers with an authentic and fluent speaking command of the English language, who have had experience in teaching children whose first language is not English.

Relevant Materials: *A Report on the Preschool Instructional Program for Non-English Speaking Children During the First Three Summers of Operation in Texas Schools,* issued by the Texas Education Agency, October, 1962, and cited in Section Four; also, the curriculum guide, *Preschool Instructional Program for Non-English Speaking Children,* issued by the Texas Education Agency, March, 1964, and cited in Section Six.

Uvalde Independent School District
P. O. Box 309
Uvalde, Texas
Preschool Program
Director: Mr. John Harrell

The Preschool Program conducted by the Uvalde Independent School District provides 136 five-year-olds (of which 128 are Mexican American) with a nine month, half-day program of instruction. The primary goal of the program is to give the child a command of English necessary to begin work in the first grade.

The eight classes of the program are operated on the principle of small group instruction. Each small group is called a circle of instruction. Within each circle, particular elements of the curriculum are stressed: music, math, language development, English fluency, art work, and free play. Frostig materials are used for the development of hand-eye coordination. Recently, a "Spanish corner" has been added, in which some time has been spent working with the children in Spanish. Each English-speaking teacher is assisted by one aide per class, and there are extra aides assigned to the classes for the slower children. The aides are bilingual.

Parents are involved in the program throughout the year through meetings with the teachers, the nurse, or the social worker, either in their own homes or at the school. The program also provides classes for parents, such as those offered in homemaking. In addition, the program provides food, health, and transportation services.

Relevant Material: Contact the Program Director.

West San Antonio Heights Kindergarten
Northside Independent School District
5223 Blessing
San Antonio, Texas
Director: Mrs. Lucille Rochs

There are approximately 80 children involved in this preschool program, of which 90 percent are Mexican American. The Kindergarten offers a modified full-day academically oriented program to five-year-olds throughout the school year.

The main goal of the program is to give culturally deprived children preschool experiences which will prepare them to enter and succeed in the first grade. This goal is pursued by providing a curriculum that emphasizes language skills, conceptualization skills, mathematical concepts, improvement of self-image, and expansion of cognitive horizons through field trips and celebrations of special holidays.

Children entering the program are assigned to one of four classes, depending upon their English-language proficiency. There is a maximum of 20 children in a class. Classes are conducted in English, but the class designed for the lowest English-language ability group has previously been conducted bilingually, and there are plans to resume bilingual instruction for this group during the coming school year. The teachers are English-speaking, and are assisted by three aides, two of whom are bilingual. One bilingual aide is permanently assigned to assist the teacher of the lowest English-language ability group. Other than the usual requirements of certification, teachers are selected to work in this program on the basis of their expressed interest in working with these culturally deprived students.

The Kindergarten offers health and food services, and the services of a bilingual counselor. Parents are involved in the program through home visits by the director, the counselor, and the nurse. Parents are also invited to the school for special occasions, and are called upon to aid the teachers by accompanying the children and their teachers during field trips.

Relevant Material: Contact the Kindergarten Director.

PART SIX

SUMMARY

This study is a synthesis of the literature concerning the many-faceted problems connected with the education of disadvantaged Mexican American children. Definitive answers to these problems are beyond the scope of this overview, but the thrust of the accumulated findings of psychologists, social scientists, and educators do indicate directions in which educators must move if they are to meet the needs of disadvantaged Mexican American children.

The study is divided into four major areas of interest – history and demography, social characteristics, intelligence and intellectual functioning of Spanish-speaking children, and implications for early educational experiences for disadvantaged Mexican American children. A fifth section contains brief descriptions of a number of current projects designed for Mexican American children. A bibliography is included for each section.

Brief summaries of the major ideas presented in each section are:

History and Demography

An historical sketch reveals that the conflict of cultures has prevailed since 1846. Today's educators must remember that Mexicans are a "conquered people" in the Southwest, whose culture has been under "incessant attack" and whose character and achievements have been almost constantly disparaged. A focal point of attempts to improve Anglo-Hispano relations must be to "give back to the Indio-Hispano citizens the heritage of racial pride of which we have robbed them and . . . teach Anglo-Americans to respect and honor this heritage."

Important demographic facts about the Spanish-surname population of the Southwest are also revealed in the literature. According to the 1960 census, the Spanish-surname population in the five Southwestern states was 3,465,000, or 12 percent of the total population. Four out of five of Spanish-surname individuals were located either in Texas or in California, with two out of five in Texas. The Texas Spanish-surname population is concentrated in the southern part of the state.

The Spanish-surname population of the Southwest is predominantly an urban population, and it is a young population, with 50 percent being slightly under 20 years of age. In Texas, the Spanish-surname population is slightly under 18 years of age. Spanish-surname families are typically large, with one-fourth of these families in Texas including seven or more persons. Throughout the Southwest, incomes of individuals with Spanish surnames are typically lower than incomes of Anglo individuals. In Texas, more than half of the Spanish-surname families have an income of less than $3,000 per year.

The educational attainment of persons with Spanish surnames is lower than that of Anglo individuals across the Southwest. In Texas, the 1960 census revealed that the median school years completed by the Anglo population over 25 years of age was 11.5 years, but only 6.1 years for the comparable Spanish-surname population. Browning and McLemore (2) believe that Texas is inferior to other states in terms of educational attainment and income. However they note that comparisons of the Spanish-surname population in 1950 and 1960 show progress, in absolute terms, with respect to education, occupation, and income. On the other hand, the Anglo population has also progressed; therefore, the Spanish-surname population has not reduced its distance from the Anglo population in these areas. Fogel (6) maintains that between the 1950 and the 1960 censuses, increases in educational attainments of

Spanish-surname males as compared with those for Anglo males were greater than increases in relative incomes. He holds that if the trend continues, the Spanish-surname population would attain Anglo educational levels before achieving income equality. Browning and McLemore feel that the conclusion is inescapable that, as a group, persons of Spanish-surname are poorly equipped to face the challenge of a society which is increasingly oriented to high-level skills and education.

Social Characteristics

Traditionally, the Mexican American home is strongly male-dominated. The father's authority is not to be questioned, and the male is expected to prove his manliness by ruling his home sternly, by representing his family with honor, and by seeking manly pleasures and pursuits outside the home. The woman is relegated to the home and is to be a model of purity and submissiveness. Her primary role is that of mother and wife. Children are well-loved, but owe their parents respect and obedience. Older children have authority over younger children, and their responsibility for younger children is quasi-parental in nature.

The extended family plays a large part in the socialization of the young, and kinsmen have obligations of mutual assistance and reciprocal favors. The family is also extended through institutions of ritual kinship, the baptismal godparents of a child being the most important ritual kinsmen. In the sense that loyalty to one's family is expected to override all other interactions with those outside the family, the Mexican American culture tends to be atomistic in nature. There is some evidence that Mexican Americans fear the invidious sanctions of others, and that only within their own homes are they in an environment in which they trustingly participate with others.

The social problems that Mexican Americans face by living within an Anglo society include spatial separateness, stereotyping, cultural and value orientation differences, as well as the language difficulty. Differing value orientations include concepts concerning time, fatalism, progress, desirable types of activities, and modes of interpersonal relationships. A number of medical beliefs held by the Spanish-speaking seem to reflect aspects of their culture and differ from those held by Anglos.

While the various writers do not see acculturation and assimilation of the Mexican American group into the dominant Anglo group as imminent, there are indications that these processes are gradually taking place. Evidence points to growing change in traditional patterns; however, Mexican Americans still maintain strong loyalties to their group and its cultural values. A fusion of the Mexican American and Anglo cultures into a common culture which retains the best of both may be a desirable goal.

Cognitive and Intellectual Functioning of Spanish-speaking Children

Two theories concerning intelligence and intellectual development which were predominant prior to World War II have largely been discounted by later research. The first theory held that intelligence was fixed genetically at birth and that environment could have little effect in promoting an increase or retardation of intellectual ability. The second, closely allied to the first, was that intellectual development was also a predetermined factor which occurred at a fixed rate regardless of the environment and was due to the maturation of neural and somatic structures. From a body of evidence, drawn together and critically examined, Hunt (11) concludes that intelligence and development involve interaction between the organism and its environment and are not predetermined by genetic inheritance.

The concept of interactionism finds a theoretical base in the works of the Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget. Piaget sees intelligence as the organism's continuing adaptation to its environment and striving toward an ultimate theoretical equilibrium. As the environment impinges upon the child, he assimilates elements of the environment into his cognitive structure. These elements gradually become coordinated to form schemas of actions which the child may use to cope with his environment. As the child meets new elements in his environment, the schemas must be continually modified, with new assimilations occurring. The nature of the environment with which the organism interacts can, therefore, accelerate or retard intellectual development.

Studies have generally shown that Spanish-speaking children score 10 to 15 points lower on intelligence tests than do Anglo children of the same age. However, studies that have investigated the actual learning ability of Spanish-speaking children indicate that the basic learning capacity of these children need not be doubted. The difficulty in measuring intelligence of Spanish-speaking children seems to lie not only with language problems and cultural differences, but in the very nature of the intelligence tests. When Spanish-speaking children are tested with standardized intelligence tests, a number of problems arise. These problems include the standardization of the tests on English-speaking groups, cultural content of the questions, the verbal nature of the tests, the verbal competence of the children being tested, the adequacy of translated tests, and the improper interpretation of test results.

Disadvantaged Mexican American Children and Early Educational Experience

Since many of the problems associated with poverty and cultural difference which Mexican American children suffer are similar for all disadvantaged children, Mexican American children should benefit from the provision of facilities that appear to help other economically disadvantaged children. The most widely-accepted of these facilities is a program of preschool education.

The belief that preschool education may alleviate or reverse the effects of experiential deprivation rests on what appears to be sound psychological bases. Through synthesizing large bodies of data, Hunt (23) and Bloom (8) have demonstrated that intellectual development is not genetically predetermined but is determined by constant interaction between the child and his environment. They have further verified that the early years of a child's life are the most critical for the development of his cognitive abilities. In addition, educational experience furnishes a pragmatic basis for the acceptance of preschool education. Since neither segregation nor retention seems to be of sound educational benefit, preschool education for Mexican American children appears as a logical alternative. This argument is strengthened by reports that programs of preschool education for these children are reasonably effective.

Educators concur that the major emphasis of preschool curricula for Mexican American children needs to be language development. Opinions vary considerably concerning different methods of developing language abilities. However, all methods must take into consideration what Hunt (23) has called the "problem of the match." This concept includes the realization that if the circumstances of the learning situation are beyond the child's capacity for accommodation, learning can probably not take place. It is necessary, therefore, to begin teaching at the level the learner has attained.

Teachers play a critical role in the education of the disadvantaged. Teachers of the disadvantaged must possess the qualities normally associated with all good teachers. In addition, they must understand the characteristics of the disadvantaged, their value systems, their family life, and other elements of the culture from which they come. A number of writers also believe that the teacher of Spanish-speaking children should speak both English and Spanish.

Another factor affecting the success of a program for disadvantaged children is parent participation. If school programs are to be effective with the children, the support of the home is critical. The school needs to involve parents in the business of the child's learning. Studies have shown that the nature of the parent-child interaction can retard or facilitate the child's cognitive and language growth.

Recent studies also indicate that preschool programs may be too little and too late to be maximally effective. Introducing the disadvantaged child to extended formal education at the earliest possible age seems to be the direction of future educational efforts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR PART ONE

Demography

(1) Barrett, D. N., "Demographic Characteristics," in Samora, Julian (ed.), *La Raza: Forgotten Americans;* South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966. pp. 159-199.

(2) Browning, H. L., and McLemore, S. D., *A Statistical Profile of the Spanish Surname Population of Texas;* Austin: The University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1964.

(3) Browning, H. L., and McLemore, S. D., "The Spanish-Surname Population of Texas," *Public Affairs Comment,* January, 1964. Vol. 10, No. 1.

History

(4) Burma, J. H., *Spanish Speaking Groups in the United States;* Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1954. Chapters 1 and 2.

(5) Diaz, Bernal, *The Conquest of New Spain,* Translated by J. M. Cohen; Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963.

(6) Fogel, Walter, *Education and Income of Mexican American in the Southwest,* University of California at Los Angeles Mexican American Study Project. Advance Report No. 1; Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Graduate School of Business Administration, Division of Research, 1965.

(7) Grebler, Leo , *Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and its Implications,* University of California at Los Angeles Mexican American Study Project. Advance Report No. 2; Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Graduate School of Business Administration, Division of Research, 1966.

Demography

(8) Grebler, Leo, *The Schooling Gap: Signs of Progress,* University of California at Los Angeles Mexican American Study Project, Advance Report No. 7; Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Graduate School of Business Administration, Division of Research, 1967.

History and Demography

(9) Heller, C. S., *Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads;* New York: Random House, 1966. Chapters 2 and 3.

History

(10) Kibbe, P. R., *Latin Americans in Texas;* Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1946.

Demography

(11) Lamanna, R. A., and Samora, J., "Recent Trends in Educational Status of Mexican Americans in Texas," in Estes, D. M., and Darling, D. W., *Improving Educational*

Opportunities of the Mexican American: Proceedings of the First Texas Conference for Mexican American, April 13-15, 1967, San Antonio, Texas; Austin: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, 1968.

History

(12) Lozano, R. R., *Viva Tejas: The Story of the Mexican-Born Patriots of the Republic of Texas;* San Antonio: Southern Literary Institute, 1936.

(13) Madsen, William, *Mexican Americans of South Texas;* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964. Chapters 1 and 4.

History and Demography

(14) Manuel, H. T., *Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest: Their Education and the Public Welfare;* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965. Chapters 2, 3, 5, 6, and Appendix.

History

(15) McWilliams, Carey, "America's Disadvantaged Minorities: Mexican Americans," *Journal of Negro Education,* No. 3, 1951. Vol. 20, pp. 301-309.

(16) McWilliams, Carey, *North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States,* (2nd Ed.); New York: Monthly Review Press, 1961.

(17) Miller, H. J., "Historical Perspective of Mexican American Culture," in *Americans of Mexican Descent – An In-Depth Study;* San Antonio, Texas: a publication of the Human Resources Development Institute, held July 17-July 28, 1967, at St. Mary's University.

Demography

(18) Mittelbach, F. G., and Marshall, G., *The Burden of Poverty,* University of California at Los Angeles Mexican American Study Project. Advance Report No. 5; Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Graduate School of Business Administration, Division of Research, 1966.

(19) Moore, J. W., and Mittelbach, F. G., *Residential Segregation in the Urban Southwest,* University of California at Los Angeles, Mexican American Study Project, Advance Report No. 4; Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Graduate School of Business Administration, Division of Research, June, 1966.

History

(20) Morin, Raul, *Among the Valiant: Mexican Americans in WW II and Korea;* Los Angeles: Borden Publishing Company, 1963.

(21) Myers, J. M., *The Alamo;* New York: Bantam Books, 1966.

(22) Parkes, H. B., *A History of Mexico* (3rd Ed.); Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960. Chapter 4 and 6.

(23) Rubel, A. J., *Across the Tracks: Mexican Americans in a Texas City;* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966. Chapter Two.

(24) Sanchez, G. I., "The Culture of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest," in Moseley, J. E. (ed.), *The Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest;* Published by Council on Spanish-American Work, 1966.

(25) Sanchez, G.I.,. "History, Culture, and Education," in Samora, Julian (ed.), *La Raza: Forgotten Americans;* South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966. pp. 1-26.

(26) Sanchez, G. I., "Spanish-Speaking People in the Southwest – A Brief Historical Review," *California Journal of Elementary Education,* Nov., 1953. Vol. 22, pp. 106-111.

(27) Singletary, O. A.,*The Mexican War*; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960.

(28) Stambaugh, J. L., and Stambaugh, L. J., *The Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas;* San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1954.

(29) U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of the Population: 1960 Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname.* Final Report PG (2)-IB; Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR PART TWO

Sociology

(1) Beberfall, Lester, "Some Linguistic Problems of the Spanish-Speaking People of Texas," *Modern Language Journal*, February, 1958. Vol. 42, pp. 87-90.

(2) Brickman, W. W. (ed.), "School Bias Toward Mexican American," *School and Society*, November 12, 1966. Vol. 94, p. 378.

(3) Burma, J. H., *Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States*; New York: Duke University Press, 1954. Chapters 3 and 4.

(4) Campa, A. L., "Individualism in Hispanic Society," in Moseley, J. E. (ed.), *The Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest*; Indianapolis, Indiana: Council on Spanish American Work, 1966. pp. 11-19.

(5) Campa, A. L., "Culture Patterns of the Spanish-Speaking Community," in Moseley, J. E. (ed.), *The Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest;* Indianapolis, Indiana: Council on Spanish American Work, 1966. pp. 20-35.

(6) Carter, T. P., "The Negative Self-Concept of Mexican American Students," *School and Society*, March 30, 1968. Vol. 96, pp. 217-219.

(7) Chavez, S. J., "Preserve Their Language Heritage," *Childhood Education*, December, 1956. Vol. 33, pp. 165 +.

(8) Clark, Margaret, *Health in the Mexican American Culture*; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959.

(9) Crawford, F. R., *The Forgotten Egg: An Exploration into Mental Health Problems among Urban Mexican American Families and Their Children;* Austin, Texas: Texas State Department of Health, Division of Mental Health, 1961.

(10) Edmondson, M. S., *Los Manitos: A Study of Institutional Values;* New Orleans: Tulane University, Middle American Research Institute, 1957.

(11) Heffernan, H. W., "Some Solutions to Problems of Students of Mexican Descent," *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, March, 1955. Vol. 39, pp. 43-53.

(12) Heller, C. S., *Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads;* New York: Random House, 1966. Chapters 2 and 3.

(13) Holland, W. R., "Language Barrier as an Educational Problem of Spanish-Speaking Children," *Exceptional Children*, September, 1960. Vol. 27, pp. 42-44.

(14) Kluckhohn, F. R., and Strodtbeck, F. L., *Variations in Value Orientation;* Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1961.

(15) Luna, E. G., "Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest," in Moseley, J. E. (ed.), *The Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest;* Indianapolis, Indiana: Council on

Spanish American Work, 1966.

(16) Madsen, William, *Mexican Americans of South Texas;* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964. Chapters 2-12.

(17) Manuel, H. T., *Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest: Their Education and the Public Welfare;* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965. Chapters 1, 4, 8, 9, and 10.

(18) Mittelbach, F. G., Moore, J. W., and McDaniel, R., *Intermarriage of Mexican Americans,* University of California at Los Angeles, Mexican American Study Project, Advance Report No. 6; Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Graduate School of Business Administration, Division of Research, November, 1966.

(19) NEA-Tuscon Survey on the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking, *The Invisible Minority . . . Pero No Vencibles;* Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, Department of Rural Education, 1966.

(20) Naegele, V. A., "Sociology," in *Americans of Mexican Descent – An In-Depth Study;* San Antonio, Texas: a publication of the Human Resources Development Institute, held July 31-August 11, 1967, at St. Mary's University.

(21) Penalosa, F., and McDonagh, E. D., "Social Mobility in a Mexican American Community," *Social Forces,* June, 1966. Vol. 44, pp. 498-505.

(22) Perales, A. M., "The Audio-Lingual Approach and the Spanish-Speaking Student," *Hispania,* March, 1965. Vol. 48, pp. 99-102.

(23) Rowan, Helen, "A Minority Nobody Knows," *The Atlantic Monthly,* June, 1967. Vol. 219, pp. 47-52.

(24) Rubel, A. J., "Concepts of Disease in Mexican American Culture," *American Anthropoligist,* October, 1960. Vol. 62, pp. 795-814.

(25) Rubel, A. J., *Across the Tracks: Mexican Americans in a Texas City;* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966.

(26) Samora, Julian, "Educational Status of a Minority," *Theory into Practice,* June, 1963. Vol. 2, pp. 144-150.

(27) Sanchez, G. I., "Concerning Segregation of Spanish-Speaking Children in the Public Schools," *Inter-American Education Occasional Papers,* December, 1951. Vol. 9, Chapter 1 and Appendix.

(28) Sanchez, G. I., *Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans;* Albuquerque, New Mexico: Calvin Horn Publishers, Inc., 1967.

(29) Saunders, Lyle, *Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest;* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954.

(30) Saunders, Lyle, "Anglos and Spanish-Speaking People: Contrasts and Similarities," in Moseley, J. E. (ed.), *The Spanish-Speaking Peoples of the Southwest;* Indianapolis, Indiana: Council on Spanish-American Work, 1966.

(31) Simmons, O. G., "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans," *Daedalus,* Spring, 1961. pp. 286-299.

(32) Soffietti, J. P., "Bilingualism and Biculturalism," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* April, 1955. Vol. 46, pp. 222-227.

(33) Tuck, R. D., *Not With the Fist: Mexican Americans in a Southwest City;* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1946.

(34) Woods, Sister Frances Jerome, C. D. P., *Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups;* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956.

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR PART THREE

Psychology

(1) Altus, G. T., "WISC Patterns of a Selective Sample of Bilingual School Children," *The Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology,* December, 1953. Vol. 83, pp. 241-248.

(2) Birch, H. G., "Sources of Order in the Maternal Behavior of Animals," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* April, 1956. Vol. 26, pp. 279-284.

(3) Carlson, H. B., and Henderson, N., "Intelligence of American Children of Mexican Parentage," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* July, 1950. Vol. 45, pp. 544-551.

(4) Cook, J. M., and Arthur, G., "Intelligence Ratings for 97 Mexican Children in St. Paul, Minn.," *Journal of Exceptional Children,* October, 1951. Vol. 18, pp. 14-15.

(5) Demos, G. D., "Attitudes of Mexican American and Anglo American Groups Toward Education," *The Journal of Social Psychology,* August, 1962. Vol. 57, pp. 249-256.

(6) Dennis, Wayne, "Causes of Retardation Among Institutional Children: Iran," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* March, 1960. Vol. 96, pp. 47-59.

(7) Flavell, J. H., *The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget;* Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1963.

(8) Guidance Testing Associates, *Catalogue, Educational Tests, Inter-American Series, 1967-68.* Austin, Texas.

(9) Honstead, Carole, "The Developmental Theory of Jean Piaget," in Frost, J. L. (ed.), *Early Childhood Educational Rediscovered;* New York: Holt, Rinehart.

(10) Hughson, Arthur, "The Case for Intelligence Testing," in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R. (eds.), *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 126-130.

(11) Hunt, J. McV., *Intelligence and Experience;* New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1961.

(12) Hunt, J. McV., "How Children Develop Intellectually," in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R. (eds.), *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 83-95.

(13) Jensen, A. R., "Learning Abilities in Mexican American and Anglo American Children," *California Journal of Educational Research,* September, 1961. Vol. 12, pp. 147-159.

(14) Johnson, G. B., Jr., "An Experimental Projective Technique for the Analysis of Racial Attitudes," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* May, 1950. Vol. 41, pp. 251-278.

(15) Johnson, G. V., Jr., "The Origin and Development of the Spanish Attitude Toward the Anglo and the Anglo Attitude Toward the Spanish," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* November, 1950. Vol. 41, pp. 428-439.

(16) Johnson, G. B., Jr., "The Relationship Existing Between Bilingualism and Racial Attitude," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* October, 1951. Vol. 42, pp. 357-365.

(17) Johnson, G. B., Jr., "Bilingualism as Measured by a Reaction-Time Technique and the Relationship Between a Language and a Non-Language Intelligence Quotient," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* March, 1953. Vol. 82, pp. 3-9.

(18) Keston, M. J., and Jimenez, C., "A Study of the Performance on English and Spanish Editions of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test by Spanish American Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* December, 1954. Vol. 85, pp. 262-269.

(19) Manuel, H. T., *Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest: Their Education and the Public Welfare;* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965. Chapter 7.

(20) Manuel, H. T., *Technical Report, Tests of General Ability and Tests of Reading. Inter-American Series Forms CE, DE, CEs, DEs;* Austin, Texas:Guidance Testing Associates, 1967.

(21) Manuel, H. T., *Manuel – Tests of General Ability and Tests of Reading, Inter-American Series, Forms CE and DE, CEs and DEs;* Austin, Texas: Guidance Testing Associates, 1967.

(22) Pasamanick, Benjamin, "Intelligence of American Children of Mexican Parentage: A Discussion of Uncontrolled Variables," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* October, 1951. Vol. 46, pp. 598-602.

(23) Piaget, Jean, "The States of the Intellectual Development of the Child," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic,* May, 1962. Vol. 26, pp. 120-128.

(24) Piaget, Jean, *The Origins of Intelligence in Children,* Translated by Cook, Margaret; New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963.

(25) Piaget, Jean, *The Psychology of Intelligence,* Translated by Piercy, M., and Berlyne, D. E.; Totowas, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams & Company, 1966.

(26) Rapier, J. L., "Effects of Verbal Mediation Upon the Learning of Mexican American Children," *California Journal of Educational Research,* January, 1967. Vol. 18, pp. 40-48.

(27) Rice, J. P., Jr., "Education of Subcultural Groups," *School and Society,* November 28, 1964. Vol. 92, pp. 360-362.

(28) Roca, Pablo, "Problems of Adapting Intelligence Scales from One Culture to Another," *High School Journal,* January, 1955. Vol. 38, pp. 124-131.

(29) Skeels, H. M., "Effects of Adoption on Children from Institutions," in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R. (eds.), *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 116-119.

(30) Stablein, J. E., Willey, D. S., and Thomson, C. W., "An Evaluation of the Davis-Eells (Culture-Pair) Test Using Spanish and Anglo American Children," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* October, 1961. Vol. 35, pp. 33-38.

(31) Stanford, M. R., "Don't Discard Those IQ Tests When They Fail to Work With Non-English-Speaking Children. A New Approach Can Make Them Meaningful," *Texas Outlook,* October, 1963. Vol. 47, p. 31.

(32) Yourman, Julius, "The Case Against Group IQ Testing in School with Culturally Disadvantaged Pupils," in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R., *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovation;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 131-134.

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR PART FOUR

Educational Implications

(1) Abraham, W., "The Bilingual Child, His Parents, and Their School," *Exceptional Children,* November, 1956. Vol. 23, pp. 51-52.

(2) Ausubel, D. F., "The Effects of Cultural Deprivation on Learning Patterns," *Audiovisual Instruction,* January, 1965. Vol. 10, pp. 10-12.

(3) Ausubel, D. F., "A Teaching Strategy for Culturally Deprived Pupils: Cognitive and Motivational Considerations," in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R. (eds.). *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 237-244.

(4) Bernstein, Basil, "Language and Social Class (Research Note.)," *The British Journal of Sociology,* September, 1960. Vol. 11, pp. 271-276.

(5) Berson, M. P., *Daily Program III for a Child Development Center;* Washington, D. C.: Project Head Start, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1967.

(6) Black, M. H., "Characteristics of the Culturally Disadvantaged," in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R. (eds.), *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 45-50.

(7) Blackie, John, "How Children Learn," *NEA Journal,* February, 1968. Vol. 57, pp. 40-42.

(8) Bloom, B. S., *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics;* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1964.

(9) Bruner, J. S., "The Cognitive Consequences of Early Sensory Deprivation," in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R. (eds.), *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 137-144.

(10) Cahn, P. L., (ed.) "Mama Goes to Nursery School," *American Education,* Sept., 1967. Vol. 3, pp. 10-11.

(11) Chavez, S. J., and Erickson, T. L., "Teaching American Children from Spanish-Speaking Homes," *Elementary School Journal,* January, 1957. Vol. 57, pp. 198-203.

(12) Dolan, G. K., and Nevarez, C. E., "Family Reading Circles," *Clearing House,* April, 1967. Vol. 41, pp. 500-501.

(13) Deutsch, Martin, "The Role of Social Class in Language Development and Cognition," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* January, 1965. Vol. 35, pp. 78-88.

(14) Deutsch, Martin, "Nursery Education: The Influence of Social Programming on Early Development," in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R. (eds.), *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 145-153.

(15) Freeberg, N. E., and Payne, D. T., "Parental Influence on Cognitive Development in Early

Childhood: A Review," in Frost, J. L. (ed.), *Early Childhood Rediscovered;* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968.

(16) Galbraith, C. K., "Spanish-Speaking Children Communicate," *Childhood Education,* October, 1965. Vol. 42, pp. 70-74.

(17) Gardner, R. W., "A Psychologist Looks at Montessori," in Frost, J. L. (ed.), *Early Childhood Education Rediscovered;* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968.

(18) Getzels, J. W., "Pre-school Education," in Frost, J. L. (ed.), *Early Childhood Education Rediscovered;* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968.

(19) Goldberg, M. L., "Adapting Teacher Style to Pupil Differences: Teachers for Disadvantaged Children," in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R. (eds.), *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 345-361.

(20) Havighurst, R. J., "Who Are the Socially Disadvantaged?" in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R. (eds.), *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 15-23.

(21) Heller, C. S., *Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads;* New York: Random House, 1966. Chapter 4.

(22) Hess, R. D., "Educability and Rehabilitation: The Future of the Welfare Class," in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R. (eds.), *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 406-418.

(23) Hunt, J. McV., *Intelligence and Experience;* New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1961.

(24) Hunt, J. McV., "The Psychological Basis for Using Pre-School Enrichment as an Antidote for Cultural Deprivation," *The Merrill-Palmer Quarterly,* July, 1964. Vol. 10, pp. 209-248.

(25) Hunt, J. McV., "How Children Develop Intellectually," in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R. (eds.), *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 83-95.

(26) Hunt, J. McV., "Revisiting Montessori," in Frost, J. L. (ed.), *Early Childhood Education Rediscovered;* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968.

(27) Jean-Marie, Sister, I. H. M., "A Summer School for Pre-first Grade for Mexican American Children," *Catholic School Journal,* June, 1965. Vol. 65, pp. 34-35.

(28) King, P. E., "Multisensory Teaching Tools and the Very Young Language Learner, *Audiovisual Instruction,* October, 1966. Vol. 11, pp. 639-641.

(29) Koenig, F. G., "Improving the Language Abilities of Bilingual Children," *Exceptional Children,* February, 1953. Vol. 19, pp. 183-186.

(30) Levine, D. U., "City Schools Today: Too Late with Too Little?" *Phi Delta Kappan,* November, 1962. Vol. 44, pp. 80-83.

(31) Lewis, Oscar, "The Culture of Poverty," *Scientific American,* October, 1966. Vol. 215, pp. 19-25.

(32) Manning, J. C., "Linguistic Approach to the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language," *The Instructor,* March, 1966. Vol. 75, pp. 81 +.

(33) Manuel, H. T., *Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest: Their Education and the Public Welfare;* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965. Chapters 11-17.

(34) Manuel, H. T., "The Spanish-Speaking Child in Texas Schools." in Estes, D. M., and Darling, D. W., *Improving Educational Opportunities of the Mexican American: Proceedings of the First Texas Conference for the Mexican American,* April 13-15, 1967, San Antonio, Texas; Austin: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, 1968. pp. 72-86.

(35) Manuel, H. T., "Recruiting and Training Teachers for Spanish-Speaking Children in the Southwest," *School and Society,* March 30, 1968. Vol. 96, pp. 211-214.

(36) Murra, Elizabeth, "Learning English as a Second Language," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* December, 1954. Vol. 28, pp. 181-192.

(37) NEA-Tucson Survey on the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking, *The Invisible Minority . . . Pero No Vencibles;* Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, Department of Rural Education, 1966.

(38) Noreen, Sister, D. C., "A Bilingual Curriculum for Spanish-Americans," *Catholic School Journal,* January, 1966. Vol. 66, pp. 25-26.

(39) Office of Economic Opportunity, *The Staff for a Child Development Center;* Washington, D. C.: Project Head Start, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1967.

(40) Office of Economic Opportunity, *Project Head Start: Daily Program I for a Child Development Center;* Washington, D. C.: Project Head Start, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1967.

(41) Office of Economic Opportunity, *Parents Are Needed: Suggestions on Parent Participation in Child Development Centers;* Washington, D. C.: Project Head Start, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1967.

(42) Office of Economic Opportunity, *Points for Parents: 50 Suggestions for Parent Participation in Head Start Child Development Programs;* Washington, D. C.: Project Head Start, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1967.

(43) Olson, J. L, and Larson, R. G., "An Experimental Curriculum for Culturally Deprived Kindergarten Children," in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R. (eds.), *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 175-182.

(44) Pease, Damaris, "Family Forces Influence Child Behavior," in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R. (eds.), *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 382-389.

(45) Pines, Maya, *Revolution in Learning: The Years From Birth to Six;* New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1967.

(46) Poulos, W. T., "They Learn Basic English Before School Starts," *Texas Outlook,* August, 1959. Vol. 43, pp. 15-16+.

(47) Rice, J. P., Jr., "Education of Subcultural Groups," *School and Society,* November 28, 1964. Vol. 92, pp. 360-362.

(48) Riessman, Frank, "The Overlooked Positives of Disadvantaged Groups," in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R. (eds.), *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 51-57.

(49) Riessman, Frank, "Teachers of the Poor: A Five-Point Plan," *Journal of Teacher Education,* Fall, 1967. Vol. 18, pp. 326-336.

(50) Sanchez, G. I., "History, Culture, and Education," in Samora, Julian (ed.), *La Raza: Forgotten Americans;* South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966. pp. 1-26.

(51) Sanchez, G. I., "Concerning Segregation of Spanish-Speaking Children in the Public School," *Inter-American Education Occasional Papers, No. 9,* December, 1951. Chapters 2 and 3.

(52) Scott, Ralph, "Head Start Before Home Start?" *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly,* October, 1967. Vol. 13, pp. 317-321.

(53) Sonquist, H. D., and Kamii, C. K., "Applying Some Piagetian Concepts in the Classroom for the Disadvantaged," *Young Children,* March, 1967. Vol. 22, pp. 231-238+.

(54) Spodek, Bernard, "Poverty, Education, and the Young Child," in Frost, J. L., and Hawkes, G. R. (eds.), *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations;* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. pp. 183-188.

(55) Teel, D., "Preventing Prejudice Against Spanish-Speaking Children," *Educational Leadership,* November, 1954. Vol. 12, pp. 94-98.

(56) Texas Education Agency, *A Report on the Preschool Instructional Program for Non-English Speaking Children During the First Three Summers of Operation in Texas Schools;* Austin, Texas, October, 1962.

(57) Tireman, L. S., *Teaching Spanish-Speaking Children;* Albuquerque, New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Press, 1948.

(58) Wallace, A., "Bilingualism and Retardation," *Elementary English,* May, 1956. Vol. 33, pp. 303-304.

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR PART FIVE

Materials and Additional Information

(1) Educational Media Council, *Educational Media Index,* (Pre-school and Primary, Grades K-3); New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964. Vol. 1.

(2) Evans, A. W., "How to Equip and Supply Your Prekindergarten Classrooms," in Frost, J. L. (ed.), *Early Childhood Education Rediscovered;* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968.

(3) Harrigan, Joan, *Materiales Tocante Los Latinos: A Bibliography of Materials on the Spanish-American;* Denver, Colorado: Colorado Department of Education, Division of Library Services (Colorado State Library), October, 1967.

(4) Messinger, M. A., *The Forgotten Child: A Bibliography with Special Emphasis on Materials Relating to the Education of "Spanish-Speaking" People in the United States;* Austin, Texas: Twenty-four mimeographed sheets from the Department of History and Philosophy of Education, the University of Texas. July, 1967.

(5) Montelores Studies Center Staff, *Bibliography: Professional Library and Instructional Materials;* Cortez, Colorado: Center for Multi-Cultural Studies and Educational Resources, 1967.

(6) Office of Economic Opportunity, *Bibliography of Completed Research Projects Funded by Project Head Start, Division of Research and Evaluation;* Washington, D. C.: Five mimeographed sheets from Project Head Start, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, June, 1967.

(7) Office of the Economic Opportunity, *Health Services: A Guide for Project Directors and Health Personnel;* Washington, D. C.: Project Head Start, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1967.

(8) Office of Economic Opportunity, *Nutrition: Better Eating for a Head Start;* Washington, D. C.: Project Head Start, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1967.

(9) Office of Economic Opportunity, *Equipment and Supplies: Guidelines for Administrators and Teachers in Child Development Centers;* Washington, D. C.: Project Head Start, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1967.

(10) Sanchez, G. I., and Putnam, H., *Materials Relating to the Education of Spanish-Speaking People in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography;* Austin, Texas: The University of Texas, Institute of Latin American Studies, 1959.

(11) Texas Education Agency, *Preschool Instructional Program for Non-English Speaking Children;* Austin, Texas, March, 1964.

(12) University of California at Los Angeles, Graduate School of Business Administration, Division of Research, *Mexican American Study Project, Advance Report 3: Bibliography, Prepared by the Staff;* February, 1966.